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THE GREAT CAPITALS

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THE
GREAT CAPITALS
AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

BY
VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.Sc.

WITH TWO MAPS

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To
THE REVEREND JAMES GEORGE CORNISH, M.A. (Oxon.)
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
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PREFACE

A GREAT, or Imperial, Capital is the headquarters of a Great Power, whether the Power be monarchical or republican. It has a double aspect, that of an Urban community with exceptionally wide interests, and a Geographical site with exceptional advantages. It is with the latter only that we are here concerned. For the purpose of this study the Natural Regions or districts of the World must be considered in relation to the Productive Areas from which supplies of men and material are obtained, the Lines of Communication along which these are moved, and the Natural Obstructions which hinder movement. Classified according to the predominance of one or other of these characters they fall into the three categories of natural Storehouses, Crossways, and Strongholds. The first is the original and fundamental character, the second and third dependent upon it, for easy movement and natural barriers are only important if there be inducement to develop or obstruct traffic. It is therefore the world's Storehouses of natural wealth which sooner or later determine the importance of Crossways and Strongholds.

An historical examination of imperial capitals shows that their district is usually either a Storehouse, or a far-reaching Crossways near a Storehouse, seldom a Stronghold. Their political geography has one outstanding character, a forward, as distinguished from a central, site. The Great Power both of ancient and modern times has always been an incorporation of several States, and the characteristic site of the imperial capital is in or adjacent to that Storehouse of the dominant community of the empire which is nearest to the principal

foreign neighbour. When by the growth of the Empire the capital ceased to be in this position the government transferred its seat to another city or founded a new city. When, on the contrary, the advance of the frontiers left the capital in the same relative position the government did not change its seat. The sites of these enduring headquarters became great capitals in the fullest sense, the seat of great political power, cities with great population, and great centres of culture.

The initial capital of a federation of sovereign States is at a connection between the States themselves, not of the whole territory with foreign countries, but when the States consolidate the capital is in a forward position.

The requirements which place a sovereign capital in the forward area are suggested when we contrast its administration with that of a provincial capital. The domestic affairs of a province would be most conveniently conducted at the natural Crossways of communication nearest to the centre of the district. The government of a sovereign State is, however, charged with the conduct of foreign as well as home affairs. Hence, its most convenient seat in times of peace is the natural Crossways which provides the best junction of the home Communications with those which lead across the most important frontier.

As every civilized country is engaged in foreign as well as home trade, the same conditions determine the site of the best commercial centre. In time of war the government has to be in a forward position in order to keep in touch with operations, but the presence of a large Urban population is an embarrassment. This drawback has attracted more popular attention than the advantage of a great junction of roads not far from the principal frontier (ensured by the forward position of the capital) which assists strategic concentration. The doctrine of the Forward Position of the capital, which it is hoped this book will establish, is, however, not theoretical but historical. The proof does not depend upon the explanations given above but upon the evidence in the

following chapters, in which most of the chief examples of ancient and modern times have been examined.

Other matters of some novelty relating to individual capitals are also investigated in the following pages.

In the preparation of this work, I owe much to the geographical writings of Mr. G. G. Chisholm, Professor J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., Sir H. J. Mackinder, and particularly, Professor L. W. Lyde. I am also indebted for references to Dr. G. F. Hill, Dr. H. B. Morse and, particularly, Mr. E. A. Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. I have also received valuable criticisms from Professor H. L. Myres.

To the Meteorological Office I am indebted for certain data as to annual temperatures.

For geographical statistics, dates, and orthography I have followed the XIth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

VAUGHAN CORNISH

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THE GREAT CAPITALS

CHAPTER I

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN CHINA, MONGOLIA, AND MANCHURIA¹

NATIVE CAPITALS OF ANCIENT CHINA

THROUGHOUT the greater part of ancient history the dense population possessing Chinese civilization was in the valleys of the Wei-ho and Fen-ho (tributaries of the Hwang-ho or Yellow River), in the extensive plain which is comprised in the basins of the Pei-ho, the lower Hwang-ho, and lower Yang-tze, and in the plain of the middle Yangtze in the neighbourhood of its junction with the Han River and of the Tung-Ting lake. The fertile valley of the river Wei, rising in Kansuh the westernmost of the eighteen provinces which constitute China proper and joining the Hwang-ho at Tung-kwan in Shensi, is especially associated with the earliest history, whilst the lower part of the fertile Fen-ho valley in Shansi is recorded as the site of the capitals of three early emperors. Both the valleys of the Wei-ho in the modern province of Shensi and that of the lower Fen-ho in the modern province of Shansi combine the advantage of the loess soil with a sufficient rainfall to ensure the full productiveness of which that remarkable æolian deposit is capable. They had also in the beginning of things the special advantage over other fertile districts that the extremely fine-

¹ See Appendix note 1.

grained loess does not encourage the growth of trees, so that husbandry could be started without preliminary lumbering. The enormous deltaic plain over which the Hwang-ho or Yellow River wanders in its lower course is especially fertile owing to the loess soil brought down by the river from west of the mountains, which seem to have impounded the deposit as it was blown from the dry regions. If we compare the distribution of Chinese towns in 1100 B.C. as shown in the map at the end of Dr. Hirth's *History*¹ with the geological map on plate XI of Berghaus' *Physical Atlas* we shall see a close correspondence with the quaternary alluvial deposits. The relation of these deposits to mountains, rivers, and sea shows clearly that the Chinese dominion of those days was not founded upon obstructive frontiers, or upon advantages of inland or coastal waterways, but upon storehouses of agricultural production ramifying north, east, south, and west from the modern province of Ho-nan. Much the greatest continuous area of fertile plain is that of which the delta of the Hwang-ho is the central part. The relatively small valleys of the Wei-ho and Fen-ho to the west, early bases of the conquering Chinese, were never abandoned by them, for from the earliest days of their traditions the Chinese have never been migratory conquerors. Their G.H.Q. however was shifted to the east, the direction of their early colonizing conquests, for, when we leave the legendary period of the third millennium B.C. during which the emperors are chiefly associated with Shensi and Shansi, and come to the early historical period of the second millennium, we find the imperial capital in the lower, that is the eastern, part of Ho-nan. The actual position was often shifted, but as a rule through only a small distance. The recorded sites are almost always near the present city of Kai-föng. The significance of the position in relation to physical features is evident. It is the head of the delta or flood-plain of the Hwang-ho. This river has changed its outlet more than any other during historic

¹ *The Ancient History of China*, by Fredk. Hirth, Ph.D. New York, 1908.

times, and it seems from the frequent shifting of the capital (which the records attest as due to floods) that the deposits were pushing back the head of the delta in a manner unforeseen by the Chinese. The head of the delta (wherever it might be for the time) was evidently a crossways and a transfer station of communications. Upon it converged natural inland waterways from the north-east, east and south-east, and there is no great length of navigable river above the delta. The great flood-plain is, on the other hand, difficult to cross by roadway from south to north, whereas just west of the head of the delta north to south communication by road is easy for hundreds of miles over the level plain, as is now witnessed by the line of the Peking to Hankau railway. Moreover, the head of the delta was never far from the entrance to the comparatively narrow valley between the mountains of 'Shansi and Ho-nan leading up to the Tung-kwan gorge, which is the route to the Wei valley and the district of the modern province of Kansuh, the westernmost part of the early Chinese civilization. The political geography of the Chinese dominions at the time when the imperial capital was first placed in lower Ho-nan is not sufficiently clear to enable me to connect the change of position with the change of frontiers, further than to say that as the dominion was extended from Shensi and Shansi to the east and south, the directions in which fertile lands were to be found, so the capital was advanced to a position east of Shensi and south-east of Shansi.

The next change in the position of the capital, made at the beginning of the Chou dynasty, can however be definitely related not only to the physical geography but also to the detailed political geography of the time. Wu-wang the founder of the new imperial dynasty was duke of Chou. His ducal capital was at or near Si-nan-fu in the Wei Valley, and here he still held his court after attaining the status of Emperor. This has led to the statement that at the beginning of the Chou dynasty in 1122 A.D. the capital was transferred from Kai-fōng to Si-nan-fu, from the head of the delta to a position

in Shensi (which means " west of the pass " that is to say, the gorge of Tung-kwan). The statement is however misleading although not altogether incorrect, for Wu-wang was all the while preparing a new city in a position which seemed to him more suitably placed for the exercise of his newly acquired office. " He traced near the confluence of the rivers Yi and Lo in Ho-nan, the future town of Lo which was to be the capital of the Chou dynasty." ¹ This city of Lo-yang is identical with the modern Ho-nan-fu, and is referred to in history sometimes by the one name sometimes by the other. In order to avoid confusion with the province of Ho-nan in which it is situated, we shall find it convenient to retain the old name of Lo-yang. Wu-wang adopted in the fullest degree the feudal system of empire, the provinces being placed under a nobility whose office, if properly discharged, would be transmitted in the family. His immediate successor, who resided in the new capital, and the later members of the dynasty were feudal emperors pure and simple. They did not endeavour to base their power upon the men and resources of the country " west of the Pass " from which they came.

Their capital connected the several provinces of the Empire, not the Empire as a whole with foreign parts.

The inundations of the Hwang-ho delta had indicated the advisability of choosing a site on higher ground. Lo-yang has an elevation of five hundred feet. The valley in which it is situated has the loess soil, and its river, the Lo a right-bank tributary of the Hwang-ho, periodically overflows, spreading a new layer of loess upon the fields, which are thus maintained in the highest condition of fertility. Lo-yang had therefore the local resources which are desirable for a capital. It is in a direct line between the former imperial capital Kai-fōng and Si-nan-fu, the capital of the duchy from which the new dynasty came, about one-hundred and ten miles nearer than Kai-fōng to the latter and upon the natural line of communication. The very fact that the dynasty at

¹ H. Cordier, *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, Vol. I, p. 118.

Kai-föng had become thoroughly decadent and that Chinese politics had to be reinvigorated from the old Chinese home in the west, shows that it was desirable that the federal capital should be nearer the pass of Tung-kwan. But at this time the principal Chinese expansion was to the south, in the land of "the southern barbarians" where the viscounty of Ch'u was growing in importance. The main base of this province was the part of the alluvial plain of the Yang-tze which lies astride the river from King-chou to Han-kau. Therefore it was necessary that the new capital should not be so far west of Kai-föng as to impair access to the middle Yang-tze and the Tung-ting lake. From Si-nan-fu, the Tsing-ling pass four thousand feet high would have had to be traversed. Access from Lo-yang however is almost or quite as good as from Kai-föng, for there is a lowland route southwards from Lo-yang which runs west of the Ju-tsai-shan group of mountains which, on maps of insufficient detail, appear to shut it in on the south. There are also ways through the Tai-han shan range on the north leading into the fertile valleys of Shansi, so that, in spite of somewhat mountainous surroundings, Lo-yang is at a four-cross ways. Here the imperial capital remained from 1115 to 220 B.C. During this period of nearly nine centuries the Chinese continued to conquer territory, particularly in the regions of abundant rainfall to the south and south-west, settling part of these districts with their own colonists and converting a large proportion of their new subjects to Chinese civilization. But this expansion was achieved under the political condition of a feudal empire, which is, essentially, one in which the provinces are under hereditary governors. The advance of frontiers under these conditions gives increased resources to the hereditary chief of frontier provinces with no counterbalancing increase in the resources of the central provinces. If, moreover, the resources of the Imperial house be partly dependent upon a personal Domain situated centrally, the material basis of the Emperor's power is a diminishing quantity as compared with that of the feudatory chiefs on the

expanding frontier. Thus in the feudal empire of an expanding nationality the seat of political power tends to shift away from the focus of interprovincial communications. During the later centuries of the Chou dynasty two frontier fiefs on the south and west respectively, Ch'u with its capital at or near King-chou on the middle Yang-tze, in the modern province of Hupeh, and Ts'in or Chin, with its capital at Si-nan-fu in Shensi on the Wei-ho, grew to be large and powerful. Ch'u increased not only by foreign expansion southward, but by conquest of neighbouring Chinese fiefs. The feudal chief of Ch'u (the southern state) was a Viscount in 1100 B.C. but styled King after 740 B.C. The feudal chief of Ts'in, the State west of Tung-kwan, was successively baron, marquis and duke between the ninth and fourth centuries, and king after 337 B.C. In the fourth century B.C. we should have to give two very different accounts of the Chinese Empire according to the standpoint from which we approach the subject. If we are thinking of the domestic resources and foreign domination of the Chinese we should say the Empire was strong and increasing. If we are thinking of the power of the imperial dynasty we should say the Empire was feeble and waning.

The two great feudatories Ts'in and Ch'u based on the Wei-ho and on the middle Yang-tze, waged war upon one another, and victory remained to the State of Ts'in (or Chin as Baron Suyematsu calls it)¹ which annexed Ch'u in 223 B.C.

Almost all the Chinese, except in the *lesser* state of Wei on the borders of Shantung and in the small imperial domain of the Chou Emperors near Lo-yang, were subject to the King of Ts'in before his accession to the imperial throne in 220 B.C. The feudal king of Ts'in, having completed the conquest of the rest of China which had been begun by his predecessors,

¹ *Chinese Expansion Historically Reviewed*, by Baron Suyematsu. *Proceedings of the Central Asian Society*, read January 11th, 1905. The name China, bestowed by Western Asiatics, is said to be derived from this frontier state where contact was first established.

displaced the representative of the Chou dynasty from the imperial throne. He assumed the style of Shi-Hwang-ti, or universal Emperor, and intended that he should go down to posterity as the first universal emperor, his successors being accordingly numbered after him. Geographically speaking, however, the Chou emperors had been equally universal, being supreme sovereigns of all that was Chinese; the real difference would be better expressed by the term "absolute" instead of "universal." Shi-Hwang-ti was the first absolute, as distinguished from feudal, emperor. The governors of provinces were his nominated officials, and a great system of centralization and co-ordination in weights, measures, calendar and so forth was introduced. The partial defences of several northern States were united and extended in the Great Wall, some sixteen hundred miles in length, which he left as a bulwark to the whole northern frontier from the Gulf of Liaotung to the western extremity of Kansuh. The burden of this great work was shared by distant provinces with those on the northern frontier, a cause of great discontent, particularly to the central populations, unused to share the tasks of a United Empire. Shi-Hwang-ti extended the Chinese dominion over the basin of the Si-Kiang or Canton river, thus completing the domination over all that is now known as China proper.

From these facts it is evident that the centralized empire of Shi-Hwang-ti was an empire of conquest. It was as if the conquests of the Kingdom of Prussia in German lands had been continued beyond their actual extent so that by the time the King of Prussia became Emperor of Germany he had already ruled as king over ninety-five instead of (roughly) fifty per cent. of the German-speaking people. The retention of Si-nan-fu as imperial capital by Shi-Hwang-ti and the successors of the short-lived Ts'in dynasty might be supposed to be due to preference for their original recruiting ground. By noting what followed after the downfall of the Ts'in dynasty we shall, however, find that, in the stage then reached in Chinese expansion, Si-nan-fu had become the typical position for the

sovereign capital, apart from any ascendancy of the men of Shensi¹ and Kansuh. In 206 B.C. the imperial throne was wrested from the Ts'in dynasty by the house of Han. The district, and former state, of Han was a part of modern Ho-nan and its rulers had been members of the confederation of north and east China which had fought against Shi-Hwang-ti. Kao-ti, the first Han Emperor, made Lo-yang his capital at his accession, but afterwards seated himself at Si-nan-fu. Thus, if we merely specified the seats of empire chronologically, we should have to record a retrogression of the capital from Shensi to Ho-nan. This however would be misleading. The house of Han merely continued to govern from the neighbourhood of their hereditary dominions or estates until they were ready to move into Si-nan-fu, where they seated themselves in the course of a very few years and remained for two centuries. We see therefore that the repeated oscillation of capital between Si-nan-fu and Lo-yang between 1122 B.C. and 25 A.D. which appears from the unsifted records, is unreal, the essential fact being that the city selected for the capital was Lo-yang from 1122 to 220 B.C. and Si-nan-fu from 220 B.C. to 25 A.D. Previous to 1122 B.C. the capital had been in the neighbourhood of Kai-fōng for a thousand years. Hence in the course of the two thousand years preceding the Christian era there were only two movements of the capital of considerable amount and general importance, as distinguished from slight shifting for local convenience which was not difficult in a country where wood not stone was the principal building material. These two movements were both towards the west, the first transfer rather more than one hundred, the second, two hundred miles.

The capital was now near the western boundary of the lands in Chinese occupation. This was the most important frontier for two reasons. First, it was the one easy route to extensive fertile lands having a warm climate, second, it was bordered on the north-west by a country which was a source of danger because it was the seat of military races and unsuitable for

Chinese occupation. Nevertheless the competing claim of a better focus of the home communications was asserted by the removal of the capital to Lo-yang during the later years of the Han dynasty. The extension of Chinese dominion in Central Asia continued for some time after the transfer, which took place about A.D. 25, and in face of this it would be rash to assert without a good deal of evidence that the position of Lo-yang was unsuitable for the imperial headquarters. However, before the end of the second century A.D. the power of the dynasty over the provinces of China declined, and during several centuries there were only short periods when the whole country was united under an Emperor. At the beginning of the seventh century (618 A.D.) union was once more complete under the T'ang dynasty which lasted for nearly three hundred years during which time the Chinese empire attained probably the highest pitch of power which it ever enjoyed under native rulers. The name T'ang (M. Cordier¹ says) is that of a district near Taijouen (the capital of modern Shansi) in the state of Tsin (not Ts'in) on the Fen-ho, but further north than the capitals of the emperors of the legendary period. If we were to judge the closeness of connection with neighbouring provinces from the position of the mountain ridges we should regard Shansi as more closely connected with Shensi than with Chih-li or Ho-nan. In fact, however, there are good valley-ways connecting Shansi with Chihli and Ho-nan and, on the other hand, a considerable physical buffer which separates the valleys of the Wei-ho and Fen-ho, the metropolitan districts of Shensi and Shansi, except where they meet end to end at the gorge of Tung-kwan. The barrier is the southeastern wedge of the Ordos plateau. The separation which it causes is due to its unsuitability for cultivation. The provinces of Shensi and Shansi, and therefore the old states of Ts'in or Chin and Tsin, are distinct districts. Both have a frontier exposed to the poor pastures of inner Mongolia, but the Fen-ho in Shansi has not the direct access to the relatively low-lying

¹ *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, Vol. I, p. 406.

and fertile district now called Chinese Turkestan which is to be had from the Wei-ho valley in Shensi, where stands the city of Si-nan-fu. When the family of T'ang attained to the imperial throne they left their ancestral home and fixed their capital at Si-nan-fu.¹ We see therefore that from the end of the Chou dynasty in B.C. 220 to the end of the undisputed rule of a native dynasty over all China, which was at the close of the T'ang dynasty A.D. 905, there were altogether six hundred and eighty years of such united rule extending from B.C. 220 to about A.D. 173 and from A.D. 618 to A.D. 905. During this time Si-nan-fu was the capital for five hundred and thirty years, including the final period. We may therefore say with confidence that from the time when the Chinese had conquered up to the sea until the time when the dominions of the native dynasties ceased to expand, migration of the capital was essentially progressive not oscillatory, there being only one set back, and that the movement was westwards in two stages.

The final position of the capital was in the very region where native tradition places the national origin of the Chinese, a tradition which we may well accept, and which involves no theory of their ethnographic origin. It is not surprising that the capital in its westward migration should have reached the Wei valley when the Chinese had conquered or occupied the great district fertilized by monsoon rains between the ocean on the one hand and the curved line of the mountains of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and Tibet and of the Mongolian plateau on the other. The position in the gap between the Tibetan and Mongolian plateaus has physically an obvious importance as a frontier connection. We must not however permit the suitability of the position in the time of Shi-Hwang-ti, B.C. 220, to prevent our enquiring why there was not a further west-

¹ In the table of the T'ang dynasty in M. Cordier's history I find "capital—Lo-yang" but this appears to be a slip, for I find Si-nan-fu (which he calls by the alternative name of Chang-an) distinctly described as the capital nineteen times. I find only three references to Lo-yang which can be construed as implying that this city was the capital. In one of these it is referred to as "the eastern court."

ward migration of the capital, seeing that the Chinese not only conquered very extensively further west and exercised a very wide suzerainty, extending at one time nearly if not quite to the Caspian, but colonized largely in the great area called by them Sin-Kiang or the New Dominion, now known as Chinese Turkestan. Kashgar is twice as far from Si-nan-fu as the latter city is from the remotest part of the coast of China. Thus we have to enquire why the capital did not move during the times of the Han and T'ang dynasties although the frontier advanced westwards, and although the new western provinces had the best communication with the other developed empires of the time in India and Persia, and through Persia with those of Europe. The explanation lies in the fact that the Wei-valley in Shensi is the westernmost district which combines the advantage of the fruitful loess soil with that of the fertilizing monsoon rains. To take the capital into Kansuh or further west would have removed it from those linked valleys of assured fertility which are the foundation of Chinese strength. The capital was never carried westward beyond the natural Storehouse of the Wei-ho valley, and this is an excellent example of the rule that the more enduring capitals of Great Powers are generally situated in a district capable of yielding large store of economic supplies. Towards the end of the T'ang period the military danger from Manchuria greatly increased. The military position of Peking was better than that of Si-nan-fu in relation to this danger, that of Si-nan-fu probably better in relation to the danger from Mongolian Tartary. As a common focus of home and foreign trade, however, in the circumstances of the time, Si-nan-fu was far better.

But though the factors of local production and foreign commerce were, I infer, the determining considerations in keeping the capital in Shensi, there was, we may be sure, a second important factor which had made Shensi and Kansuh the original headquarters of a dominant people. The dominance of the inhabitants originated in the mythical period,

re-asserted itself at the beginning of the Chou epoch, and again at the beginning of the Ts'in epoch. I have already mentioned the industrial factor, namely the assured fertility of the loess soil where rainfall is adequate, and the advantage derived from its being unencumbered by forest. This however, while it serves to explain the development of the Wei-ho valley before that of the middle Yang-tze, does not explain the twice-repeated domination of other Chinese lands by the people of Shensi in later times. The clue to this is given by the protests handed down in Chinese literature that the men of Ts'in, or Chin, were but half Chinese, that they were strongly infected with barbarian notions, and, in fact, little better than Tartars. Shensi and Kansuh are a transitional region between the agricultural and pastoral regions. There is no obstructive barrier between them, and here it is possible to have both a numerous peasantry closely tilling the soil and large bands of rough riders. Neither were the agricultural peasants themselves far removed from the open country with its free life and field sports. The life of the peasantry in the north-eastern plain of the Yellow River, when that great district became populous, must have been very different. It was impossible for the peasantry, in such surroundings, shut off from field sports, to retain the habits which form the groundwork of military efficiency. They could only be made into soldiers if taken from their occupations and systematically trained.

In the course of the tenth century *Anno Domini*, Sin-Kiang, "the New Dominion," was conquered by the Turkish horsemen of Mongolia. In the same century the tribes of footmen whose chief habitation was the basin of the Usuri, the principal lowland of the country which acquired later the name Manchuria, occupied the frontier province of Liao-yang and, entering China proper by the north-east corner, extended their conquests so that by the end of the twelfth century they held most of the great deltaic plain. Their dominions in Manchuria and China were known as the Kin empire from the title of the dynasty. West of "the barrier" (the Tung-kwan gorge), the

provinces of Shensi and Kansuh managed to hold their own as an independent State known as the Hia Kingdom, but it was the country south of the Yang-tze which under the Sung dynasty formed the chief native Chinese State from the second half of the tenth century. Two thousand years had elapsed since the time when the fertile lowland of the middle Yang-tze had been a frontier province of the Chinese, and now the Yang-tze valley and the country to the south constituted one half of China in every sense, for it was not only about equal in area to the rest, but was comparable in population and as a seat of Chinese civilization. Here the continuity of Chinese national life was preserved, the Sung being reckoned by the Chinese themselves as one of the great dynasties although they did not possess the whole country. Their capital was first Nanking, then Hang-chow at the head of the estuary of that name, about one hundred miles south-west of Shanghai and one hundred and forty south-east of Nanking, on the Yang-tze, near the northernmost point of its course. It is at the southern end of the Grand Canal, and thus in communication by barge with Peking at the northern extremity of the plain. The neighbourhood is densely peopled, being very productive (silk being among the products) and having the advantage of an extensive system of canals. The city itself is described by Marco Polo as the finest in the world, and this at a time when it no longer had the advantage of being the seat of government. The name by which he calls it, Kinsai, means however "the capital." The capitals of the Sung dynasty are in the northernmost part of their country, and from this Storehouse in the front of their country they contested the plain north of the Yang-tze with its Tartar occupants.

Such was the position of affairs when the course of history changed at the birth of Jenghiz Khan.

CAPITALS OF THE GRAND KHAN OF TARTARY

There was a time when the Grand Khan ruled, in addition to China proper and Sin-Kiang, the plain of northern Eurasia

between the forests on the north and the great chains of fold mountains on the south, and between the Pacific Ocean and the river Dniester. The four thousand miles from the Dniester to the Khingan Mountains is open country, and, from times already ancient in the days of Herodotus, was the home of horse-breeding tribes who were described as mare-milkers. East of the Khingan mountains the country soon takes on a more forested character. Here is the considerable, although relatively small, district of Manchuria which was included in the term Tartary, but discriminated from the rest as "Manchurian Tartary." Its people were ethnically akin to their western neighbours but were not characteristically horsemen. Our immediate purpose is to examine the great tract of cavalry country which stretches from the Dniester up to and a little beyond the Khingan mountains, in order to find the best recruiting ground for a Power based upon tribes of horsemen. These are usually referred to as mounted nomads. The comments often attached to this description need some examination. In the first place, we must guard ourselves against the misconception of supposing that such tribes had no home because they were not always in one place. They usually had two homes, the summer and the winter pasture. Secondly, we must guard ourselves against a possible misconception as to the military advantage of this nomadism. Many writers have, very properly, emphasized the advantage of a permanently mobile commissariat and camp equipment for the whole population in the conflict with a settled people. It is, however, important to notice that the necessity for a long migration between summer and winter pasture must have been a disadvantageous condition in the wars among the nomadic tribes. Thus we are likely to find the strongest tribes not in semi-desert steppes, but in the fertile steppes, districts which we can better realize if we use the word *Prairie* which the French gave to the corresponding country in Canada and the United States. The best prairie pastures are near the western and eastern extremities of the open plain, in the south of

modern Russia-in-Europe and in northern, particularly north-western, Mongolia. Between these lie the great Khirgiz Steppes, extending from forty-five to fifty-five degrees north latitude, and from the lower Volga on the west to Lake Balkash in the East. To most of these the following description by Dr. Peisker ¹ applies:—

“ The well-watered northern part which remains green
“ throughout the summer, feeds countless herds in the warm
“ season, but affords no pasturage in winter owing to the deep
“ snow. On the other hand, the southern part . . . is unin-
“ habitable in summer. Thus the northern part provides
“ summer pastures, the southern, the Aral-Caspian basin,
“ winter pastures to one and the same people. . . . The
“ longest [wanderings] are those of the Kirghiz who winter
“ by the Aral Sea and have their summer pastures ten degrees
“ of latitude further north in the Steppes of Troitsk and Omsk.
“ The distance, allowing for a zig-zag course, comes to more
“ than one thousand miles.”

Obviously the necessity for such an annual oscillation is an economic drawback, and a strategic weakness in contests with tribes whose alternate bases of supply were closer together.

Turning now to the eastern and western prairies, we have to ascertain which is the better placed as regards protective frontiers and avenues of expansion. Southern Russia-in-Europe (which is now largely under the plough) and Northern Mongolia had in the Black Sea and the Gobi desert respectively good protection against the ancient civilization on the south, but nomadic horsemen could attack by several routes across the Gobi desert whereas the Black Sea was useless to such people as a line of operation.

On the north, where in early times little was to be won, Mongolia enjoys the protection of mountain ranges descending from the plateau to the lowland, whereas the prairies of southern Russia lie open to a fertile forest country. At the

¹ *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Chapter XII. *The Asiatic Background*, by T. Peisker, Ph.D.

period when mediæval merges into modern history, the forest country of Russia-in-Europe became the seat of a populous agricultural nation, whilst the forest country north of Mongolia was still sparsely inhabited by backward tribes.

On the whole therefore of all the steppes and prairies north of the settled countries of the ancient civilizations, these of northern Mongolia appear the best fitted for the original recruiting ground of an encroaching military Power.

The country comprised in the modern Chinese dependency of Mongolia has an area of more than one million three-hundred thousand square miles, which is slightly greater than that of Arabia. It includes the home of the Mongol tribe or tribes over whom Jenghiz Khan was an hereditary chief, but most of it is country conquered by the Mongols under his leadership from other tribes ethnologically similar. Thus the word Mongolia bears to the original base of the Mongols a similar relation to the word Persia in relation to the original base of the Persians among whom Cyrus the Great was an hereditary prince. The great region of modern Mongolia is naturally divided, according to Mr. Carruthers,¹ into four zones. On the south, bordering on China proper, a belt of pasture in semi-desert land. Then comes the broad stretch of true desert, the Gobi. The third belt is a large region of fertile prairie which was the recruiting base of the Turkish conquerors who began operations about the sixth century *Anno Domini* as well as of the cavalry of Jenghiz. The position of the Great Wall of China would by itself be almost sufficient evidence that the same region had been a base for similar forces from times preceding the Christian era. The fourth and last belt is that of forest up to the crest of the northern mountains. The general level of the country rises from the south towards the mountain barrier, and the general height of the third belt, the fertile prairie is, roughly, about four thousand feet. This constitutes the greater part of Northern and North-Western

¹ *Exploration in North-West Mongolia and Dzungaria*, by Douglas Carruthers. *Geographical Journal*, XXXIX, pp. 521-553, June, 1912.

Mongolia. The latter has an area of about three hundred and seventy thousand square miles. The former is smaller and on the whole somewhat less fertile. Both are well protected on the north, for the mountains descend to a forested lowland, and, as an obstacle therefore favour the people of the plateau. On the West, Mongolia is protected by the Russian Altai Mountains, on the south-west, the Ektagh Altai forms a rampart overlooking Dzungaria, the open sloping platform which provides the natural route between China on the east and the lowland steppes of Central Asia on the west.

Of all the metropolitan districts of great historic empires none is so unfamiliar to the British reader as northern (in which I include north-western) Mongolia where lies Karakorum, the imperial capital of the four great conquering emperors of all the Mongols, namely Jenghiz, Ogdoi, Mangu, and for part of his reign, Kublai also. The best way to realize the character of the country is by comparison with a region which much resembles it and which happens to be a cherished part of our possessions, the high-lying prairies¹ lying just east of the Rocky Mountains in Alberta and the north-east corner of British Columbia.

At Urga, a provincial capital, the rainfall is nine-and-a-half inches annually, and throughout Northern Mongolia, particularly in its western part, the precipitation is sufficient to maintain rivers of considerable size. None of them flow southward, so that none provided fertile valleys as paths for encroaching settlements of the Chinese. On their banks were permanent pastures, yet their valleys were for the most part unencumbered by timber. I ask the reader to note with particular care the names and positions of these rivers, and the size of the district, for without such attention at the outset it is impossible to understand the geographical foundation of the Empire of Jenghiz and his successors in the office of Grand-Khan, or King of the Mongolian Kings. The lie of these river valleys

¹ See *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXV, pp. 300-312. *The Major Natural Regions*, by A. J. Herbertson.

must also be noticed in order to understand the position of Karakorum in relation to the first or prairie-empire of Jenghiz which formed the base of his later conquests in north China and elsewhere. First, are those on the west of the Kobdo district which empty themselves into lakes; second, the Selenga, Orchon, and their tributaries, which flow northwards to Lake Baikal and thus contribute ultimately to the volume of the Yenesei, which flows to the Arctic Ocean; third, the Onon and Kerulen which flow eastwards to the Amur and are therefore tributary to the Pacific Ocean. The headwaters of the Onon and Kerulen lie near together in the Kentei mountains and here also rises the Tola, a large right-bank tributary of the Orchon.

Inscriptions in the Turkish language on monuments near the banks of the Orchon attest the fact that this valley was the headquarters of Turkish tribes in the eighth century, and appear to indicate that it was also in earlier times a home of the Uighur Stock. Turkish traditions appear to confirm the indication of the inscriptions that here was the original recruiting ground of the cavalry who conquered so widely in central and western Asia from the sixth to the twelfth centuries and left their name in "Turkestan," now divided into Chinese and Russian Turkestan, and in Turkey. The valley of the Orchon was not, however, the home of the tribe or tribes over which Jenghiz ruled as an hereditary chief. His family were quartered on the river Onon. The tribes on the Kerulen, which lies south of the Onon and flows eastward in a parallel course, were also of the same group, to whom the name Mongol was first assigned. The Atlas of Spruner-Menke discriminates the Yeka Mongols of the Onon from the Su Mongols of the Kerulen. Mr. C. W. Campbell¹ writes of the Kerulen as "the Jordan of the Mongols," and dwells on their veneration for a shrine in the Kentei mountains where both Onon and Kerulen rise.

¹ *Geographical Journal*, XXII, Nov. 1903, pp. 485-521. *Journey in Mongolia*.

Jenghiz was born in 1162 on the banks of the Onon. He succeeded in 1176, his fourteenth year, to the headship of several tribes. Some of these broke away during his minority, but with advancing years he was able to re-assert authority, and proved so successful a leader that by 1206 his tribesmen were dominant over those of the Orchon and Selenga valleys and the fertile Kobdo plateau which is adjacent thereto in north-western Mongolia, lying within the protection of the Altai mountains. Jenghiz was now in the forty-fourth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. The tribes of kindred Turkish stock with whom this decisive and momentous struggle occurred were principally the Keraits, Kerkits and Naimans, severally placed by Spruner-Menke in the Orchon and Selenga valleys and the Kobdo plateau. The last is the district of interior drainage watered by rivers which flow into lakes separated from the basin of the Selenga by the Changhai mountains and from Dzungaria by the Ektagh Altai. It was in the year 1206 that Jenghiz summoned his followers to the banks of the Onon for the purpose of proclaiming his acquired title to an imperial position among the tribes of the whole district which we now call Northern and North-western Mongolia, and at this assembly adopted the designation "Jenghiz" in place of his birth-name of Temuchin. He established (some time before 1219 A.D.) a capital on the Orchon, Karakorum, at, or near, the modern Erdeni Tsu. This imperial capital of the prairie country which had been won by Jenghiz in half a life-time of war, was three-hundred miles west and south of the Kentei mountains where the Onon and Kerulen rise, and therefore more than this distance from the ancestral home of Jenghiz and from the principal permanent pastures of the tribes over whom he originally ruled. The Orchon valley and the country west of it appear, from modern descriptions, to provide pastures better and more extensive than these. The Orchon valley, which now became the metropolitan district, is the area which connects the pastures of the Onon and Kerulen on the east with those of the Selenga valley and

the Kobdo valley on the west. Thus, in the establishment of Karakorum, Jenghiz advanced his capital beyond the original recruiting base to a position within the dominions of an adjacent tribe which provided a connection with the remoter conquests.

The empire was, so far, an hegemony of tribes similar in race and culture, and inhabiting districts physically similar. In this respect at least, it resembled the integration of Arabian tribes by Mahomet, or the union of Medes and Persians. From this base Jenghiz conducted campaigns in different parts of Northern China, of which we shall have more to say presently. The great enterprise was presently interrupted by trouble on the west. His old rivals, who had migrated further in that direction, stirred up strife, and the efforts to keep on peaceful terms with the Khwarizm Shah (who ruled on the Syr-Daria and Oxus) were unsuccessful. The result was a great campaign led by Jenghiz himself in which he reached the banks of the Upper Indus. The empire of Khwarizm was overthrown and replaced by the power of the Mongols. This was the beginning, perhaps an unpremeditated beginning, of the Mongol conquests west of the Altai mountains in Asia and Europe. From this war Jenghiz returned to wage a second campaign in China, in the course of which death terminated his conquests in the sixty-fifth year of his age, the fifty-first of his reign. The campaign against the Khwarizm Shah is the only war, as far as I have learnt, in which a Grand Khan, or Emperor of all the Mongols, went westward in person. They devoted themselves to the conquest of China; first the relatively easy subjugation of the Hia kingdom of Kansuh and Shensi, next the overthrow of the Kin dynasty of Tartars from Manchuria who ruled in North-eastern China, then that of the native Sung dynasty ruling the Yang-tze valley and all to the south thereof. Thus Ogdai, son and successor of Jenghiz in the office of Grand Khan, and ruling from Karakorum, himself warred in China and despatched his nephew Batu, a grandson of Jenghiz, into Eastern Europe. Ogdai's

reign lasted fourteen years from 1227 to the end of 1241. Chinese architects built him a palace in Karakorum, and the city was walled in 1235. There is little recorded of the reign of Ogdai's son and successor, Kuyuk, who reigned seven years at Karakorum until 1248, nor of the next year or two of disputed succession, but light is once more obtainable on matters relating to imperial affairs when we come to the reign of the Grand Khan, Mangu, a grandson of Jenghiz who ruled at Karakorum for eight years, from 1251 to 1259. Mangu was a son of Tule, the youngest son of Jenghiz. Tule had been assigned the position of *major domo* under Ogdai, the son whom Jenghiz had appointed successor, and had been accepted in the office by the notables. It is significant that when the succession left the line of Ogdai it did not pass to the house of a descendant of Jenghiz ruling a vast territory in Turkestan, Persia or the Western Steppes, but to a house which had remained in the metropolitan district to which the name Mongolia was given after the rise of Jenghiz, and beyond which the name of the conquerors has not been applied. The tribes of the Onon, Kerulen, Orchon and Selenga valleys and of the Kobdo plateau, seem in fact to have had a strong and persistent territorial attachment. Under Mangu the order of proceeding is the same as under Ogdai. He deals with affairs west of the Altai by the despatch of a force under his brother Hulagu, who took Bagdad, overthrew the eastern Caliphate, and established a capital in Azerbaijan. The coins struck by Hulagu bear his own name coupled with that of his imperial brother Mangu. Meanwhile Mangu campaigned in person in China and was in fact fighting as far south as Szechuen when death overtook him. At the death of Mangu, the Kuriltai, or council of notables, was summoned for the election of the successor to the office of Grand Khan. The reality of the imperial supremacy at this time, even in the regions west of the Altai, is indicated by the attendance of Hulagu, whose capital was in Western Persia. Similarly, at the death of Ogda Batu Khan undertook the long journey

from Eastern Europe to Mongolia where the election was held. The notables now elected as Grand Khan Kublai, the brother who had been associated with Mangu in the Chinese campaigns, which were waged from Mongolia as base. In the dominions of the house of Jagatai, which included Chinese Turkestan and the Ili valley, there had been from the first considerable reserve as to accepting the supremacy of the youngest branch of the family of Jenghiz, but even these dominions may be reckoned as in a measure confederate. Throughout his long reign of thirty-five years Kublai received tribute from the Khan of the Golden Horde ruling on the Volga and from the Ilkhan of Persia, and it is essential to a proper understanding of his place in the history of the world to think of him as the Grand Khan who ruled in China. His successors may perhaps be regarded as Emperors of China with dominions in Tartary. Before, however, Kublai reached the full height which made him, relatively to the world of his time, perhaps the greatest potentate in history, he had to overthrow the Sung dynasty of Southern China. The conquest of China proper by the Mongols was the main task of their four great fighting Emperors, Jenghiz, Ogdoi, Mangu and Kublai, and occupied more than fifty years. The kingdom of Hia (Kansuh and Shensi) fell a fairly easy prey. The wars with the Kin dynasty of Manchurian Tartars (mainly foot soldiers) in Northern China, were long and fierce, and, latterly, waged in alliance with the southern Chinese, ruled by the native Sung dynasty. The conquest of North China having been achieved, the border province of Liao-tung, beyond the Great Wall, was garrisoned with Mongol troops, this being the connecting position between the northern plain of China and the Usuri basin in Manchuria. A measure of supremacy was indeed achieved over the Manchurian Tartars, but that they were regarded as potentially a dangerous enemy is shown by this policy. The province of Liao-tung which had been occupied by these people, and is reckoned part of modern Manchuria, was not within their national recruiting base.

When Kublai entered on the final, and perhaps the most severe, part of the hereditary struggle with the Chinese, he took the momentous step of advancing his capital beyond his recruiting base. In doing so there was a choice between placing his new headquarters in the Hia or the Kin territory, the two states lying between Mongolia and the Sung territory of Southern China. In the former, comprising Kansuh and Shensi, the ancient capital and permanently great commercial city of Si-nan-fu lay invitingly ; but in 1264, five years after his accession, he chose instead a provincial town in the Kin territory, Peking, and by 1267 the newly-built Tartar city was ready for his occupation. The direct distance from Karakorum to Hang-chow, the Sung capital, is fifteen hundred miles. Peking and Si-nan-fu are each, roughly, a thousand miles from Karakorum, and, approximately, seven hundred from Hang-chow. But whereas Si-nan-fu is in a province bordering on the country of the Tibetans, who were not very formidable neighbours, Peking is in a province close to the Tartars of Manchuria who, excepting the southern Chinese themselves, were the most formidable foreign neighbours of Mongolia. As a connecting position between China proper and the other dominions ruled by the descendants of Jenghiz, Si-nan-fu was better than Peking, but the latter was near the most vulnerable flank position and on the more important foreign frontier.

When the Persian Achæmenidæ moved their capital from the original national base in Fars towards the newly acquired base of supply in Mesopotamia, they approached at the same time the territory of the kindred Median tribes whom they incorporated. When Kublai moved from Karakorum towards the richest of the Mongol conquests he perforce moved away from his kindred, and partly owing to this the descendants of Kublai soon ceased to be in effect emperors of the Mongol dominions in Western Asia and Southern Europe.

The Sung dynasty was overthrown in 1276 and that of the Mongols ruled China from Peking until 1368.

In order fully to explain the strategic advantages of Peking it is necessary to describe the passes by which it is connected with the plateau of Mongolia and with Manchuria. The Mongolian plateau with a general altitude of nearly four thousand feet, is separated from the lowland plain of Northern China by a series of transverse mountain ranges which resemble the descent of a stairway except that the steps and treads are inclined instead of being vertical and horizontal. The belt of mountain ranges is narrowest, about one hundred miles across, near the northern extremity of the plain, and here also the mountain ranges are of the least altitude, their summits being only about two thousand five hundred feet above the plateau. Here, only, does a river make a direct way across the ranges from the plateau to the plain, the Hun-ho or Wen-ho, whose waters concentrate at Kalgan, at an altitude of two thousand seven hundred feet, and after emergence on the plain, flow westward of, and near to, Peking. The relatively easy nature of the route is indicated by the fact that a railway connects Peking and Kalgan by way of the Nan K'ow pass, at or near which a tunnel passes beneath the Great Wall. The total length of railroad is about one hundred and twenty miles, the height of the pass about two thousand feet.

The Great Khingan, as the mountains traversed by this railway are called, are higher in the parts north of Kalgan where they separate the lofty Mongolian plateau from a lower plateau which borders Manchuria. Partly owing to the action of mountain ranges in catching moisture from the sea, Manchuria is largely an agricultural country instead of merely pastoral as is most of Mongolia. Spurs of the Great Khingan mountains extend eastward from the Nan K'ow pass and wall-off the plain of Chih-li from Manchuria. Their summits have an altitude of about five thousand feet, and they closely skirt the coast where it bends from north to east. There is thus only a very narrow lowland passage leading from the plain of Chih-li towards Manchuria on the north, and eastwards to the warmer country of Korea. The easternmost section of the

Great Wall closes the gap at Shan-hai-kwan, the "Gate between the mountains and the sea." By this coast-route runs the railway which now connects China with Korea, and with the European railway system by way of Manchuria and Siberia.

CAPITALS OF THE MING DYNASTY.

In 1368 the Chinese revolted, and the native Ming dynasty replaced that of the Mongols. The first two sovereigns ruled, until 1403, at Nanking, which had been the earlier capital of the Sung, but then advanced their capital to Peking. The last desperate stand of the Mongols was in the outlying province of Liaotung, not part of their home country, but the seat of a permanent garrison on the Manchurian frontier.

CAPITALS OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY.

The dynasty which assumed the epithet Manchu was descended from one Aisin Goro, who, about the eleventh or twelfth century *Anno Domini*, had his capital near the Chang-pai-shan mountains, a range bordering on the Korean peninsula. At the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. his descendant Nurhachu welded together all the tribes of Manchuria. He brought his headquarters downwards and forwards (that is to say westwards) towards China, making his capital at Mukden on the lowland route from north and south. This city lies about three hundred and forty miles from Peking. In 1619 he gained the outlying Chinese province of Liao-tung, and by 1644 his dynasty had overthrown the native Ming dynasty of China. They then advanced their capital to Peking which continued to be the capital of the Manchurian Emperors of China. The present divisions of China are due to the Manchus, and this is how the valley of the Liao comes now to be reckoned as part of Manchuria, not of China proper.

Manchuria is better watered than Mongolia. Horse-breeding and horsemanship were not, as among the Mongols, the domin-

ant factors in the life of the people, and this contributed to prevent their fusion. The country is suitable for agriculture, the climate is more severe than that of China proper, of the Liao-tung coast, and of Korea. The people were great hunters, and the Manchu emperors of Peking long kept up the habit of hunting in a great reserve about as large as the county of Yorkshire lying to the east of lake Dalai Nor.¹ Their native land was the principal recruiting ground of the soldiery who policed China proper and extended the bounds of the Empire even beyond its former limits. That the tribe ultimately dominating its kindred throughout the country which we now call Manchuria should be situated in a part near to civilization, and that they should establish a capital at Mukden, which is towards the civilized frontier, is in accordance with the general rule. But we must not accept the subsequent advance of the capital to Peking as following naturally from the fact that it was the Chinese capital, for whereas the Chinese at Peking were within their recruiting ground and behind the mountains, the Manchus at Peking were among an alien people, and exposed to attack across an open plain. The advantage of local supplies, therefore, outweighed that of defensive obstructions.

We have seen that Si-nan-fu and Peking, the most important Chinese capitals, are in districts which were near a hostile political frontier at the times when the cities became successively the seat of Empire. It is equally the case that the two metropolitan districts are physically borderlands. An examination of the map of annual rainfall shows that on the east of the Ts'in area (Shensi and Kansuh), the rainfall is above twenty-five inches, on the west below ten, associated respectively with the agriculture of the monsoon climate in the Far East and the conditions of pasturage in Central Asia. The orographical map shows that by way of the cities Si-nan-fu, Lan-chau and Su-chau is a natural route offering unsurpassed advantages for the connection of these natural regions.

¹ *China Past and Present*, by E. H. Parker, p. 129.

Chih-li, the province in which Peking stands, is now reckoned as politically the frontier of China proper, but we have seen that Liao-tung (now generally called Sheng-king or Southern Manchuria), was the border held from Peking when a Chinese national dynasty was seated there. The physical transition between what lies South and North of the plain of the lower Liao river is not one of rainfall but of temperature. The mean annual temperature at Peking is 53° Fahrenheit, of Mukden 45° , and, as will be fully explained in a later chapter, these temperatures correspond throughout Asia and Europe with very different dates of economic development. There is a connection between the rapid change of physical conditions in the neighbourhood of Si-nan-fu and Peking, and the fact that when instituted as capitals, they were near the political frontier, for the rapid change of physical condition was associated with a sharp line of division between incompatible modes of life.

CHAPTER II

IMPERIAL CAPITALS OF INDIA, AND OF PERSIA WITH MESOPOTAMIA

THE CAPITAL OF INDIA

SOUTH of the Tibetan plateau lies the Indian peninsula, comprising an area of about one-and-a-half million square miles, which is equal to that of China proper. Twice in the course of history has a government, seated in India and independent of foreign control, ruled the whole, or nearly the whole, peninsula. The first occasion was the period of the Aryan Empire whose capital was Patna, the second that of the Empire of the Mohammedan Moghuls whose enduring capital was Delhi, distant about five hundred and fifty miles.

The continental boundary of the peninsula is provided by the Himalayan ranges with their spurs and continuations. From their Eastern extremity the Himalaya are continued by ranges running south which separate the basin of the Brahmaputra from that of the Irrawadi, reaching the gulf of Martaban as the Arakan Yoma mountains. From the western extremity of the Hindu Kush is thrown off a loop of mountains which extends southwards to the Arabian Sea, of which the parts most readily identified are the Sulaiman and Kirthar ranges. This line of heights however does not divide the basin of the Indus from the interior drainage of the Iranian plateau (comprising most of modern Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan) for the western slopes of the Sulaiman drain to the Indus, and the gorges of the limestone ranges through which this

drainage flows are the avenues by which communication is maintained between the plain of the Indus and the plateau.¹

Thus from the gulf of Martaban to the Arabian Sea a line of mountains extends continuously, with few and difficult passes on the East, its valleys blocked by huge glaciers on the North, and only on the north-west providing practicable, though not convenient, military routes to and from the rest of the Continent. Under these mountains lies a continuous plain extending from the delta of the Indus on the west to that of the Ganges and Brahmaputra on the east, the way from the basin of the Indus to that of the Ganges being across a gentle swell of the land less than one thousand feet in altitude which offers no obstruction. This plain lies almost entirely to the north of the projecting part of the peninsula, known as the Deccan, an upland of moderate elevation which turns a steep and forested face towards the northern plain. The other two sides of the triangular Deccan are coasts indifferently supplied with natural harbours. The northern plain has an area of about five hundred thousand square miles, with a breadth of from one to three hundred miles. The eastern part, in the basins of the Brahmaputra and Ganges, has the full advantage of the Monsoon climate. The general slope is to the south-east, meeting the moist wind which blows in summer from the Bay of Bengal. A copious rainfall thus saves the ground from becoming parched by the sun of a tropical and sub-tropical latitude. In winter the north-east wind, blowing outwards from the Continent, preserves a clear sky and gives the crops the benefit of the sun in the season when its warmth is required. The deep and fine-grained alluvium of these extensive valleys, rich in fertile constituents washed from the Himalayan rocks, is consequently one of the world's great natural stores of agricultural wealth.

The climate changes as we pass westwards from the basin of the Ganges to that of the Indus. The summer rains are inadequate, and the natural vegetation has the character of the

¹ *India*, by Col. Sir T. H. Holdich, p. 36.

Steppes. It is important for our present enquiry to observe that, whereas orographically the Iranian plateau is divided from the Indian peninsula at the high western margin of the Indus basin, climatically the eastern boundary of the basin, situated in the plain, is the frontier of the dry belt of Central Asia of which the Iranian plateau is a part.

The great difference in the early cultivation of the Ganges and Indus valleys is only partially reflected in the much greater density of the present population in the former. The real difference is greater than is thus indicated, for much of the present population in the Indus valley is supported by recent irrigation works of a kind which was impossible before the development of modern engineering. The Punjab, where the constituents of the Indus collect, differs in this from Babylonia where the waters could be controlled by a simpler skill. Neither did the river itself provide a valuable highway of commerce as did the Euphrates.

The middle course of the Indus has not the protective frontiers enjoyed by the sunken part of the Nile Valley, and in the delta the fluctuations of channel appear to have been much more violent than those of the Nile. These drawbacks would perhaps be sufficient of themselves to account for the fact that the valley of the Indus did not become, as did the rainless regions of Egypt and Babylonia, an early seat of Empire. The ease of access to the greater stores of the Ganges valley is however an additional reason. The valley of the Lower Nile and the Mesopotamian delta were more fertile than the surroundings and their population remained and developed the land. The Aryans, descending from the Iranian plateau occupied the Indus valley but overflowed into the more fertile valley of the Ganges.

At a stage recorded in the Vedic hymns the rearguard was near Kabul when the vanguard was in the *Madhyadesá*, or midland, between the Ganges and Jumna. Here are the first-recorded capitals, dated it is said about 1100 B.C., Hastinapura, about sixty miles north-east of Delhi, and Indrapasthra,

a later settlement the site of which is identified with that of Delhi itself. The narrative records the clearance of jungle from the latter site. The fact that this preliminary task was necessary may help to account for the development of the Ganges valley being later than that of the Wei-ho and the lower course of the Hwang-ho. The clearance of bush at Delhi indicates the entrance of the well-watered districts from the arid country of the West. Delhi, on the westernmost tributary of the Ganges is climatically in a transitional position. Consequently it is a connecting position in relation to economic production, and this is significant in relation to its early foundation as an Aryan and its later establishment as a Mohammedan Capital. With reference to the former, there can be no doubt that the entry of the Aryans on the Ganges valley marks a change in their mode of life.

Of the sixteen Aryan states established at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., there were four of outstanding importance. One of these was Avanti, with its capital Ujjain in the modern native state of Indore not far from the Vindhya range which forms the north-western boundary of the Deccan. Its position far south of Delhi and away from the course of the Ganges illustrates the spreading-out of routes from the neighbourhood of Delhi on passing the Thar desert. The other three states were Vainsas with its capital at Kasambi on the Jumna below Agra, Kosala with its capital at Ajodhya, the modern Oudh, on the Gogra a left-bank tributary of the Ganges, and Magadha, of which the capital in 528 B.C. was Rajgir near Gaya in modern Behar, south of the Ganges. The locality is drained by the Sone, the largest tributary which the Ganges receives from the Deccan. The city lies not far north of forested mountains which are inhabited to this day by primitive non-Aryan tribes. Kosala, capitalled at Ajodhya, was the first of these states to obtain a definite pre-eminence. It was succeeded in this by Magadha, lying on the South-east. The capital of this state was shifted at about 500 B.C. to Pataliputra, the modern Patna. This city

stands where the Ganges is joined by the Gogra, the last of the great tributaries from the Himalaya, and about ten miles below the junction of the Sone, the greatest of the tributaries from the Deccan. Here the capital of the Aryan Empire in India remained. From it the greater part of the peninsula was ruled during long periods of consolidated power between 500 B.C. and 500 A.D. Of the capitals mentioned above it was the easternmost in the Ganges valley, but Magadha was not the easternmost of the early Aryan States, for Banga lay beyond on the lowest section of the Ganges between the point where the Santal hills abut on the right bank and the sea. If, however, we examine the position of Patna in relation on the one hand to the progress of Aryan colonization before 500 B.C. and on the other to the lands beyond, we shall see that more fertile country was accessible to the south of Patna than to the east of it, and that an eastern advance would have been detrimental to the southern connection. Thus Patna was a connection between the principal storehouse of Aryan India, the Ganges valley, and the rest of the peninsula. The date of its foundation, 500 B.C., is significant, for it is the time of Darius the Great. The Persians then controlled the whole of the Iranian plateau, so that by this time the re-enforcement of the Aryans by immigration must have ceased. Although the Aryans then settled in the peninsula spread later to a certain extent as they attained political dominance, yet they never were so large a proportion of the population in Southern India as in the Ganges valley which had become their principal home. Here their distinctive religions Brahmanism and Buddhism arose, the latter contemporaneously with the beginning of the imperial pre-eminence of Patna. Although the Aryan race had already a distinctive civilization when they entered India, and there was none native to the peninsula which they would have accepted in exchange, they developed in their new surroundings a higher culture which they themselves associated with the natural features of their new home. The whole of the Ganges became

sacred to them, and special sanctity attached to the source, the outflow from the mountains, the junctions with the principal tributaries, particularly with the great river Jumna, and the island which stands where the river joins the sea. Among this people, who revered nature, the places accounted holy were such as attract the thoughtful attention of modern devotees of geographical science. Sometimes, indeed, they may have been associated with holy persons, but the sanctity of a place was not, as in mediæval Europe, dependent on the residence of a Saint. Thus the holy places of the Aryans in India help to define the Motherland of their acquired Hindu nationality. The extent and resources of the Metropolitan district of their Empire is indicated by the statistics of the present administrative areas between, and including, Delhi and Patna, the first-recorded and the final capital of the Aryans. Adding together the divisions of Patna and Bhagalpur in Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Delhi division of the Punjab, we obtain a total area of one hundred and sixty-six thousand square miles, which is intermediate between the size of the British Isles and of France. The extraordinary fertility of the region is shown by the fact that its population, mainly agricultural, is fully seventy-five million, surpassing that of the British Isles by considerably more than fifty per cent. The district evidently belongs to the first of our three categories, namely the Storehouse. It enjoys however an unusual form of natural defence against neighbouring mountain tribes in the sunken trough occupied by the Terai jungles.

In the days when the Arab tribes supplied most of the soldiery of Islam the encroachments of Mohammedans upon India were not extensive, but throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries a large part of Northern India was ruled by Mohammedan dynasties of Turkish and Afghan races whose capital was in the neighbourhood of Kabul, generally at Ghazni. Strategically this country is classed as a Stronghold. From it most of Northern India was held, but at the beginning of the thirteenth century the Mohammedan viceroy at Delhi

proclaimed independence and initiated the era of Mohammedan power in India based upon the resident Mohammedan population. The Indus basin is now the distinctively Mohammedan part of the country, with an extension to the neighbourhood of Delhi, and probably this condition already obtained in the thirteenth century.¹ The economic resources within reach of Delhi were much greater than those around Ghazni. Mohammedan sultans seated at Delhi continued to maintain independence of Afghanistan and to exercise extensive rule in Northern India throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Delhi, it will be observed, is a connection of the Indus basin (a foreground of the Mohammedan world) with the basin of the Ganges on the east and that of the Nerbudda and Tapti on the south. It is situated where the ways begin to spread after rounding the north-east corner of the Thar desert. In the fifteenth century the capital was advanced rather more than one hundred miles in the south-eastward direction to Agra, situated lower down the Jumna. Early in the sixteenth century it fell before the Moghul Baber. This soldier of fortune had previously succeeded in establishing a dominion in Afghanistan with Kabul as capital which, as has already been mentioned, is not far from Ghazni whence Northern India had formerly been held. But Baber decided to have his headquarters in the fertile plain not in the highlands, making a Storehouse his base in preference to a Stronghold. Accordingly he took over Agra as capital, and he and his successors held Kabul from the plains of India until Afghanistan was wrested from them early in the eighteenth century by Nadir the Shah of Persia. The capital of the Moghul dynasty was on the Jumna, sometimes at Agra, sometimes at Delhi, but from 1627 A.D. onwards uninterruptedly at the latter. Only under one Emperor was it placed elsewhere, when for some twenty years Jehangir ruled at Lahore in the Indus valley. The short tenure of Lahore suggests that it was found

¹ For a generalized map see Plate 13 of Bartholomew's *Atlas of Economic Geography*.

impracticable to place the headquarters outside the principal Storehouse, the Ganges valley. That the capital was never moved east of Agra suggests that it had to be kept near the predominantly Mohammedan part of India, for the Mohammedan was the predominant community. That Delhi was ultimately preferred suggests the advantage of a site nearer to the foreign entrance of the peninsula. At the height of their power the Moghul Emperors ruled all or almost all India from Delhi, as the Aryan sovereigns had from Patna. The former was not far from the front of the distinctly Mohammedan part of the Peninsula, the latter well advanced in the distinctly Aryan part. Both are within the main storehouse of the peninsula, the Ganges Valley. Viewed as sites for the G.H.Q. of a consolidated empire of the whole peninsula the final capital Delhi better satisfies the type, for it stands at that extremity of the main Storehouse which is nearest to the continental entrance of the peninsula.

THE POSITION OF CHINESE AND INDIAN CAPITALS IN RELATION TO THE CONTRASTED NATIONAL CONDITIONS OF THE TWO REGIONS.

That China and India, which are on the whole physically so much alike, should be nationally so utterly different is a geographical anomaly which challenges investigation. China contains a population with a common language and civilization twice as large as any other continuous district in the world. Its inhabitants regard themselves as a people differentiated from the rest of mankind. The population of India, which is approximately equal to that of China, has, on the other hand, a greater diversity of languages than is to be found elsewhere in the world within an equal area. No common nationality has ever been established. There is not even, as in the equal area of Western and Central Europe, a number of nationalities segregated in districts. There are on the contrary ties of culture which unite a part of the population of one district with those of distant localities, and, on the other hand, cultural

differences in each district which divide society by barriers of custom into strata which, by their number and distinctness, constitute a more formidable disunion of the people than now survives in any other part of the globe. It is common ground that this difference between China and India has been a determining factor in the present difference of their political condition, for in India communities combined with Europeans against each other and finally accepted such unity as Europeans could confer upon the whole land, whereas the Chinese have never accepted European arbitrament. The unity of the Chinese was made possible by the development of the country behind the barrier of population on the Hwang-ho. In India, on the other hand, the caste system is, authorities agree, the outcome of successive waves of invasion, as is the unequal distribution in northern and southern India of Moslems and Hindus respectively. India was repeatedly and for many hundreds of years deeply penetrated by partial invasions owing to the want of an effective barrier on the Indus and the easy access thence to the Ganges. Incursions into China, on the contrary, did not penetrate far for many centuries, on account of the barrier of population on the Hwang-ho, so that when this barrier at last gave way the resulting change was only political and did not fundamentally affect the character and culture of the people.

IMPERIAL CAPITALS OF PERSIA WITH MESOPOTAMIA

We come now to the capitals of the Great Powers which were based in Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria from the time of Cyrus up to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. That of the predominant power was usually on the navigable portion of the rivers which now have a common mouth in the Shatt-el-Arab at the head of the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris and the Karun and its tributaries, but during two relatively short periods in Northern Syria, first at Antioch and afterwards at Damascus.

The great mountain chain of which the Himalaya are a part extends westwards into Europe. The country south of the chain between India and Mesopotamia appears in two very different aspects according to our adoption of the relief of land or the fertility of soil as the ruling character. The relief is very bold and the differences of fertility very great, so that each has a claim to consideration. If we could actually view the whole area and observe its form we should not fail to be struck by the fact that it is a single block of land raised high above its surroundings, and with an upturned rim. It is therefore a typical plateau, and it is in fact commonly described as "the Iranian Plateau." If, however, on viewing the whole area at a glance our attention were attracted more by colour than form, the impression would be of two countries, an eastern and western, separated by a broad belt of burning sand and shimmering salt. Here the plateau is somewhat lower than elsewhere, and the rivers, flowing inwards from the rim, suffer rapid evaporation and deposit their dissolved material, the last of their wasted waters soaking into the ground. The desert thus formed, known as the Lut in the southern, the Kevir in the northern part, is the one great gap in the habitable country between the Indus and Tigris which extends almost the whole distance between the sea and the great northern ranges. In order to understand the essential economic and strategic factors in the geography of the imperial capitals of India and South-Western Asia we must keep prominently before us the conception of this Persian desert as the boundary of South-Western Asia, and be careful not to allow our thoughts to be dominated by the vision of a plateau extending from the watershed of the Indus to that of the Tigris, for the latter picture distracts attention from the matters which are essential to our enquiry.¹

The earliest imperial capitals in South-Western Asia were in the adjacent valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris below the

¹ "By the great salt hollows of Central Persia and the shifting sands of Persian Baluchistan, where Alexander left great part of the force

points where these rivers are navigable for boats. This region is pretty accurately defined by the word Mesopotamia in the sense adopted in *The Statesman's Year Book* of 1914 and it is in this sense that I shall employ the word. The work referred to, in dealing with the administrative divisions of the Turkish Empire in 1914, describes Mesopotamia as comprising the three vilayets, or provinces, of Mosul, Bagdad, and Basra. If we were to push our enquiry to the beginnings of history we might succeed in elucidating the political and physical geography of Babylon and Nineveh, the latest capitals of independent Empires whose armies were recruited as well as munitioned from Mesopotamia. I shall however do little more than take them as points of reference for defining the position of Susa, Seleucia, Ctesiphon and Bagdad in the political map of their respective periods. The position of Babylon differs from that of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad, in being on the banks of the Euphrates (as the river formerly ran) not on the Tigris, as are the later capitals. In the earlier days the western connections were of predominant importance, for on this side lay the principal military and commercial neighbours. Of these the greatest was Egypt; and Crete, as we now know, was also of early importance.¹ The situation of Babylon on the Euphrates was therefore evidently associated with the fact that this river provided sufficient depth of water for the vessels of ancient days to within about one hundred miles of the Mediterranean. The valley was also a practicable route for an army, since the river ensured a supply of drinking-water across the Mesopotamian and Syrian desert.

The better way from Syria eastwards is, however, that which it is now the custom to call the "Piedmont" route,² following which he led from Sind, the Nearer East is parted from the Farther East."—*The Nearer East*, by D. G. Hogarth, p. 2.

¹ There was also considerable activity in the neighbouring parts of Arabia, which may have been less barren than now.

² See *The Ancient Piedmont Route of Northern Mesopotamia*, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 1920, pp. 50-51, from a paper by Miss E. C. Semple.

the well-watered southern slopes of the mountains of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kurdistan by way of the present towns of Urfa and Nisibin, to Mosul on the Tigris, close to the site of Nineveh. The fact that Nineveh only became the capital of a Great Power at a later day than Babylon is partly due no doubt to the greater fertility of the delta, but also in part, I suppose, to the circumstance that the economic and political development of Asia Minor was later than that of Egypt. The profitable wars of Assyria (outside Mesopotamia) were with the developed countries lying west and south-west. Asia Minor and Northern Syria were, as we have seen, accessible by way of Nisibin and Urfa through the fertile country at the foot of the mountains. To Southern Syria and Egypt there was a practicable route through the barren country which went direct from near Nineveh, south-westward by Sindjar, and Palmyra, to Damascus. Except by the ways which converge on Nineveh, and by the narrow valley (where the Euphrates does not water the surrounding plain) leading to Babylon, the fertile parts of Mesopotamia are scarcely accessible to bodies of infantry advancing from the West. Thus Babylon and Nineveh stood near the narrow gates of the obstructive western frontier formed by the Arabian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian deserts. On the north and east the frontiers of Mesopotamia are physically disadvantageous. Nineveh occupies in this respect a more exposed position than Babylon owing to the proximity of the mountains on both north and east and, particularly, to the access to the plain provided by the Greater Zab, a river coming down from the highlands between Lakes Van and Urmia, joining the Tigris on its left bank about twenty-five miles below the capital. In proportion as countries around Mesopotamia were gradually developed, the northern part of that region had, first, increasing opportunities for offensive military operations on the west and south-west, and afterwards an increasing burden of defence on the north and east. Nineveh had to bear the first brunt of the attack from the comparatively newcomers of the eastern highland which is

now Persia, and of a later arrival of tribes, the Scythians, in Armenia and Kurdistan. Consequently it was overthrown before Babylon, which occupied a less exposed position.

So much for the capitals situated in the Mesopotamian valley before its political union with the Persian highland.

We have now to examine the position of early capitals in the mountainous highlands east of Mesopotamia before the political union of the two districts. The final blow to Nineveh came from the East, for the city fell in 606 B.C. to Cyaxares, whose capital was Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan. The pre-eminence of this capital in the mountains east of Mesopotamia is indicated by the fact that Astyages son of Cyaxares (as recorded in a contemporary inscription of Nabonidus of Babylon) was suzerain of Cyrus the Great, whose hereditary dominions lay further south in the highlands. The first step in the advance of Cyrus to imperial power was the conquest and occupation of Ecbatana in 549 B.C. Historians differ as to whether Cyaxares and Astyages were kings of the Medes, a people closely akin to the Persians who had been settled for a considerable time in the highlands of what is now Western Persia, or of a Scythian people called Manda, recently arrived from the north, and dominant over the Medes.¹ I shall therefore not examine the position of the capital Ecbatana, in relation to their recruiting base but content myself with describing its relation to Mesopotamia and the highland of Western Persia.

Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan, stands at an altitude of very nearly six thousand feet, not far from the foot of Mount Elvend which rises to nearly twelve thousand feet. The leading feature which has made Ecbatana or Hamadan important is its station on the easiest natural route from the Meso-

¹ In the latter case the conquest of Media from Persia may perhaps be compared to the re-conquest of Mercia and East Anglia from Wessex after the occupation of the two former territories by the Danes. Persia was protected by its position from the Scythians, as Wessex was by position less exposed than Mercia and East Anglia to the Danish attack.

potamian delta across the West Persian ranges. This route follows at first the valley of the river Diala, a left-bank tributary of the Tigris which debouches not far above the head of the delta. Its importance in history is largely due to its direct alignment with the route onwards to the Caspian Gates, the narrow way between the lofty Elburz range (which borders on the Caspian) and the salt wastes of the Kevir desert. Upon this narrow passage converge the natural routes from India and China by the passes of Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan, and from the valleys of the Oxus and Syr Daria which lie north of the mountainous wall of the Iranian plateau. The secondary features which determined the site of an early capital and enduring city upon the great highway from the Mesopotamian delta to the Caspian Gates are the transverse valleys which go south-east and north-west from the vicinity of Mount Elvend, facilitating longitudinal communication within the West-Persian highlands. Finally it may be noted that this crossways among the mountains lies far to the north of the Persian Gulf but well to the south of the Caspian, so that it is fairly central in the continental passage of the isthmus between those waters. The neighbouring valleys are sufficiently fertile, but the leading strategic character of the neighbourhood of Hamadan is neither that of a Storehouse nor Stronghold, but a Crossways.

Pasargadæ the tribal capital of Cyrus the Great, where he built a palace and mausoleum, was also in the western highlands of what is now Persia, about four hundred and twenty miles south-east of Hamadan and in a latitude more southern than the head of the Persian Gulf. It is near the modern Murghab, between fifty and sixty miles north-east of Shiraz. Darius the Great erected a royal mausoleum, which was the burying place of his successors, at Persepolis forty miles north-east of Shiraz. The altitude of Shiraz is five thousand one hundred feet, which is not very far short of that of Hamadan. Persepolis was the capital of the province of Persia during the Macedonian rule. In the days of the Parthians, Istakhr, nine miles from Persepolis, was the capital of a small Persian

kingdom, whose dynasty, the house of Sassan, finally overthrew the Parthians and succeeded to their throne. At Istakhr moreover a strong resistance was offered to the Arab conquerors. During the Caliphate of Bagdad and in the modern Persian kingdom, Shiraz, near by, has been the capital of an important province, the modern Fars which corresponds generally to the Persis of Greek geographers. The upland valleys among the central ranges of modern Fars where these royal and provincial capitals lie, have considerable fertility, but cannot support a population nearly so dense as that of the Mesopotamian delta when the latter is properly irrigated. The barren district of Mekran, and the successive barriers of transverse mountain ranges in Baluchistan, interrupt direct communication with India. The coast of the province is the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf. The western mountains run close to this coast, barring access from its harbours, which are not good and have moreover a very oppressive climate owing to their lying thus shut in. A little beyond the province on the north-east communications are greatly hindered by the barrier of the Lut desert, so that only on the north-west are the external communications convenient. These run along the valleys between the mountain ranges which border and are parallel to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf from the Straits of Ormuz to the water-parting between Lakes Van and Urmia. Thus the province is not upon the isthmian highway from India and the Far East on the one hand to South-Western Asia and Europe on the other, but is closely connected as a by-way with this isthmus. Taking all these considerations together it follows that the province of Fars, although fairly fertile and not far from a great highway, has not predominantly the character of a Storehouse or a Crossways. Its high elevation throughout, its mountain barrier towards the sea, and the deserts which lie on or near its eastern and north-eastern borders, give it, on the other hand, marked advantages as a natural Stronghold. Here the Persian nationality was cradled before the time of Cyrus of the house of

Achæmenes, and here it revived in the days of Ardashir of the house of Sassan. Under the Achæmenian dynasty of Cyrus and the Sassanian dynasty of Ardashir the imperial capital was moved forward into the isthmian highway of continental communication, and in each case to a position where this east and west land-route is joined by a waterway from the Persian Gulf.

The establishment of the Achæmenian capital at Susa did not take place until the conquests of Cyrus and his successor Cambyses had carried the Persian dominion very nearly to its extreme limit. Cyrus, after the occupation of Hamadan, carried his arms westward by way of Nisibin and Urfa into Asia Minor, where he overthrew Cræsus of Lydia, and only then reduced Babylon, which he approached from the north on his return march. Thereafter he added the style of King of Babel to his titles. The last campaigns of Cyrus were east of the Caspian Gates, for which his line of communication branched off from Hamadan.

Cambyses conquered Egypt, the second great Storehouse added to the Persian dominions, and here as in Babylonia the native dynasty was replaced, Cambyses and his successors ruling in Egypt as Pharaohs.

We must pause here to examine further the character of the original country of the united Persians and Medes. Whatever the political status of the Medes may have been under Astyages, there is no doubt that the country described as *Media Atropatene* and *Media Magna* by Roman geographers, embracing the land from Hamadan to the northern frontier of Azerbaijan, had a population closely akin in race, as well as in Aryan language, to the tribes of Persis. That the Medes and Persians became one people under the Achæmenidæ and achieved such great conquests was not due solely to the organizing power of Cyrus and Darius, operating on peoples of common stock and language. The way had been prepared for Cyrus by the teaching of Zoroaster, who had given Medes and Persians a common outlook.

The countries on the west which were conquered by Cyrus and Cambyses had been civilized States for as many centuries

before the time of Cyrus as elapsed between the day of that conqueror and the outbreak of the Great War of 1914 A.D. Some examination of the conditions of the country of the Persians and Medes is necessary in order to understand how it could provide sufficient resources for this great achievement. It will be remembered that to the east of the mountain ranges of Western Persia lies the great desert of Central Persia. Similarly, to the west of fertile Mesopotamia lies the great belt of the Arabian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian deserts. The Arabian plateau and the Persian desert are composed of ancient rocks lying in undisturbed strata, and the geological evidence is that the intervening country was once in a similar condition. Were it so to-day the desert conditions would be continuous, for it lies in the great south-west to north-east belt of Africa and Asia in which rainfall is scanty, except where mountains catch and condense moisture. But in Tertiary times, as the geologists tell, there was a buckling of the strata, forming a great fold in the ground, between the Arabian and Persian deserts. The trough of the fold is the rocky floor of Mesopotamia (deeply overlaid in parts by alluvium) and the bottom of the Persian Gulf. The crest of the fold comprises the Zagros and other mountain ranges which run parallel to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf from the district between Lakes Van and Urmia to the Straits of Ormuz. The strong folding was accompanied by a slight tilting and dipping of the ground which has enabled the Euphrates and Tigris to make their way to the sea, which very few rivers in the dry belt of Asia are able to reach. These events account for the fertility of Mesopotamia.

The Persian Gulf, subjected to the persistent rays of the sun in a low latitude, yields up much moisture, which is carried to the West Persian ranges by westerly and south-westerly winds, and rain falls. The peaks of the ranges rise to about twelve thousand feet and the valleys mostly lie high. Were they in Europe, the whole would be deeply covered in snow during much of the year, and the passes, perhaps, impeded by glaciers.

Were they in the monsoon climate of India such mountains would be heavily forested, with a thick jungly undergrowth in the valleys. Standing as they do in lower latitudes than Europe and a drier region than Eastern Asia, they are neither snowbound nor jungly, but have some timber on the slopes and open fertile valleys. The country in consequence is suitable both for agriculture and horsemanship. This combination was, we must infer, of special advantage to the Persians and Medes because, according to all accounts, it was they who brought the horse to Western Asia. Arabia, modern authorities agree, was not its home. The original armies of Mesopotamia did not, therefore, contain cavalry, and although that arm had been introduced in the forces of some of the older countries before the time of Cyrus, yet the highlanders were the more experienced horsemasters, an advantage which highlanders have seldom enjoyed. A significant inscription of Darius the Great at Persepolis runs "This land Persis . . . rich in horses and men . . . trembles before no enemy." On the east these highlands had the protection of the Persian desert, on the south the Ocean, on the north the Caspian and the mountain wall of northern Azerbaijan, rising above the plateau and descending to the low valley of the Araxes. One of the few parts where the frontier is not advantageous to the holders of the West Persian highland is the wild tract between Lakes Urmia and Van, but even here it is not disadvantageous. On all the long Mesopotamian frontier the advantage of position is, of course, with those who hold the upland valleys. Descending, all lies open ; ascending from the plains, an invader finds extensive operations impeded by the ramifying ranges. When the Mesopotamian valley was added politically to the West Persian highland the combined district had in the Arabian and adjoining deserts a western frontier as good as that which the highland itself had formerly enjoyed, so that the united district of West Persia and Mesopotamia, the crest and trough of a single fold, were singularly defensible, and they long remained the metropolitan district of great Empires.

When, after a short interval of disturbance, Darius the Great succeeded Cambyzes, the administration of the Persian Empire was organized in the form it maintained until the overthrow of the dynasty by Alexander of Macedon. The main seat of administration was at Susa, a position which I shall presently describe in some detail, but the court was at Hamadan during part of the summer and sometimes at Babylon during the part of the winter. In respect of communications, the former position was on the route from Persis to the important north-eastern frontier; while from the head of the Mesopotamian delta, near Babylon, went the routes which connected Persis with the West, particularly that by the Tigris valley which was provided with a grand trunk road connecting Susa with Sardis. The importance of Babylon however was, of course, largely due to the productiveness of the delta, and partly also to the through traffic with the Persian Gulf. In spite of the advantage which Susa obtained by the presence of the administration, Babylon remained the greatest commercial city of the Empire. The city which has this pre-eminence is usually called "the commercial capital." The term "capital" is less precise in its application to commercial than to political or military affairs, for the commerce of one city is not regulated from another with the same completeness of subordination as obtains in the other sphere of activity. Nevertheless the customary term deserves recognition in historical geography for the practice in commerce of maintaining a head office in one city and branch establishments or subordinate representatives in others, is very ancient. The controllers of the greater of such houses of business are popularly given the title of merchant princes. In our own country at the present day this is often the language of flattery, but this should not prevent us from recognizing the truth embodied in the term. Babylon being the commercial capital, the various activities of the Empire were not concentrated at Susa under the Achæmenidæ with the same completeness as at Ctesiphon under the later dynasty of the Sassanidæ.

We have now to investigate the policy of advancing the royal capital from Persepolis as far as Susa but no further. Susa is considerably to the north of the head of the Persian Gulf and therefore on the five-hundred-mile isthmus between this arm of the sea and the Caspian. It is rather more than three hundred miles north-west of Persepolis in a direction midway between the lines to Babylon and Hamadan, from which it is distant respectively two hundred and thirty and one hundred and eighty miles. These are the direct distances as measured on a map, as in all cases not otherwise specified. When, however, we take account of the change of altitude, it becomes evident that the movement of the capital was really much more towards Babylon than Hamadan, for it is a descent from more than five thousand to less than six hundred feet, a crossing from the continental to the maritime slope of the mountain ranges, and to a site accessible from a navigable river. The city was situated about thirty-five miles north-west of the modern Shuster between the Kerkha, the ancient Choaspes, and the Dizful, a tributary of the Karun. The naturally fertile valley of the latter river occupies a broad re-entrant in the generally straight front of the mountain ranges which border the Persian plateau on the west. There is no corresponding bulge on the eastern side, so that here the belt of the mountain ranges is narrowed. The course of the Karun after leaving the mountains is on a much steeper slope than those of the Euphrates and Tigris in the corresponding parts of their channels. It is evident from the observations of modern engineers that the Karun is rapidly building out the coast at its mouth.¹ The remains of very ancient towns show that this process has been going on since the earliest historic times and the coarse grain of the silt laid down by the swift river indicates that the fertility of the delta has probably deteriorated greatly. The increased height of the delta thus pushed athwart that of the Euphrates and Tigris has retarded

¹ See *Geographical Journal*, XXXV, Jan. 1910. *Mesopotamia; Past, Present and Future*, by Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G.

those rivers, thereby causing them to deposit an increasing proportion of the finest kind of sediment, which is that possessing the greatest fertilizing value. Present physical processes, and ruined cities, alike support the evidence of extant inscriptions and tradition that in very early historic times the valley of the Karun was comparable in prosperity and civilization to lower Mesopotamia, though, being smaller, not equal in the extent of its resources. It was the metropolitan district of the ancient Empire of Elam, of which Susa was the capital. Babylon, Nineveh and Susa, on the Euphrates, Tigris and Karun, formed a triad of capitals of the same ancient civilization. The dominion ruled from Susa was its outpost on the Iranian or Persian plateau, and, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson, the empire extended across the western ranges and included the site of the modern Ispahan. Thus it stretched an interposing arm of the older civilization between Persis and Media, and this, I infer, was a factor in the differentiation between the Persian and Median groups of the Aryan tribes of Western Iran.

The Elamite army was wholly defeated, and Susa rased, by the Assyrians about 640 B.C., but Nineveh fell soon afterwards and Elam was occupied by the immediate forefathers of Cyrus. The way had thus been paved for the advance of the Persian capital to Susa. The Elamites were, however, in the time of Darius still a people alien to the Persians. The water communication from Susa to the sea was probably, as we have seen, actually better than now, and much better of course relatively to the draft of the vessels then employed. Darius paid much attention to shipping, and undertook great canal works in Egypt for the improvement of communication between the Nile Delta and the Red Sea. Thus Susa provided direct commercial communication between the Persian plateau and the second Storehouse of the Empire without dependence on a Mesopotamian port, whether such communication were wholly by sea or partly overland along the western coast route of Arabia. Similarly, there was direct water communication between the capital and India.

Throughout the two centuries which elapsed from the accession of Darius to the conquest by Alexander the principal wars of the Achæmenidæ had to be waged far from the capital. The invasion of the Balkan peninsula by Darius for the purpose of attacking the Scythians should be thought of in connection with the preceding encroachments of that people to the north of Nineveh and in the northern part of West Iran. Whatever view be taken of the effect of Persian conquest upon the intellectual culture of Western Asia, it was the campaigns of Cyrus and Darius and the rule of their successors which secured against the northern nomads all that part of the frontier of settled civilization which runs from the Pamirs to the Caspian, and thence along the Caucasus and the northern coast of Asia Minor to the Bosphorus. It was two hundred years after the time of Darius that the Chinese Emperor Shi-Hwang-ti closed the most vulnerable part of his frontier by means of the Great Wall, and four centuries elapsed before Caesar's conquest of Gaul made the frontier of settled people continuous from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

The Macedonians and Greeks maintained intact the conquests achieved under Alexander, their rule being largely based on City Colonies in the conquered territory and upon the unfettered access from the homelands which had been ensured at the outset of Alexander's campaign by the occupation of all the Mediterranean coasts of the Persian Empire. Owing however to the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. without an adult heir, his inherited and acquired dominions were parted among prominent generals, the allied States of Greece Proper having separate government. It is clear that Alexander had no intention of making Susa his capital. His sojourn at Babylon on his return from India, the organization there of a fleet for the circumnavigation of Arabia, and the presence of an official charged with the finances of the whole empire, point to Babylon as a probable choice. It was the destiny of Seleucus Nicator to be the successor of Alexander and Darius in most of their Asiatic possessions. He established himself in Baby-

Ionia by 312 B.C. and decided at once on a capital near the head of the Mesopotamian delta, but, thinking it advisable to make its community predominantly Greek, built a new city to replace Babylon. This city, which was given the name Seleucia, was also in the common delta of the Euphrates and Tigris but thirty miles north of Babylon and on the right bank of the Tigris, whereas Babylon was on the old course of the Euphrates. The new city was only about twelve miles from the junction of the Diala with the Tigris and therefore better placed than Babylon for connection with the grand trunk route across Western Persia by way of Ecbatana (Hamadan) to the Caspian Gates. Commercially, the site was now, on account of the development of the country to the north-east, even better than that of Babylon, and the older city was soon forsaken in favour of the new foundation. Within ten years Seleucus had established his authority as far as the borders of the central Asian Steppes and India. Excepting only Chandragupta, seated at the far distant capital of Patna, he had no powerful neighbour on the east. It was only the fringe of Alexander's eastern conquests which comprised country that had ever been ruled from the Aryan capitals of India. Some part of this fringe had acknowledged Achæmenian kings, but it had never been essential to the resources or security of their dominion. Accordingly Seleucus transferred his territorial claims in India to Chandragupta in exchange for valuable war material. He thereby pacified his neighbour and obtained a stronger physical frontier on the east. Thus he was able to turn his attention to the west, on which side alone he had powerful military neighbours so situated that they could attack his main Storehouse by either of two practicable routes, the Euphrates and Tigris valleys. These neighbours were the other Macedonian military potentates. The groupings among the Macedonian generals were various. As the result of the first alliances and campaigns Seleucus was able to add Northern Syria to his territory, thereby transforming the strategic geography of his dominions. His possessions in the east gave

him control of the east and west caravan route traversing longitudinally the neck between the Persian Gulf on the south and the Caspian on the north, which had been an essential factor in the power of the Persian Achæmenidæ. He now had also the portage from the Persian Gulf to the Levant. This had also been an essential factor in the greatness of the Achæmenian Empire, as well as in those of Nineveh and Babylon after the subjugation of the native Syrian power. Access to the Levant coast was of even greater consequence to Seleucus as it gave him direct sea communication with the shores and islands of the Ægean, whose Greek and Macedonian citizens were potential colonists for his Greek cities. To the south of his Syrian possessions lay those of Ptolemy, who was solidly based on the productive country of Lower Egypt. On the north-west lay Asia Minor, and Thrace and Macedonia beyond the Dardanelles. Here the distribution of power varied. At one time it seemed as if Seleucus might win all three districts, but his successors were soon repelled from all but the easternmost parts of Asia Minor. At Pergamum in Asia Minor and Philippi in the home country, were soon seated Macedonian or Greek rulers of stable States.

The best approach to Mesopotamia from Asia Minor is by the pass through the Taurus mountains called the Cilician Gates (now traversed by the Bagdad railway), eastward of which the routes to the Tigris and Euphrates valleys both pass through Syria. The more northern routes through the mountains which form the eastern rampart of the plateau of Asia Minor are less convenient in respect of altitude, and were formerly of relatively less importance than now because northern districts, both Asiatic and European, were relatively less developed. Northern Syria was thus the crossways where communications between Mesopotamia and Asia Minor converged, through it passed the only infantry route between Egypt and Mesopotamia, and it also flanked the desert route from Egypt to Mesopotamia through Southern Syria. Finally, through Northern Syria by the consecutive valleys of the Leontes and Orontes, ran the

land route between Egypt and Asia Minor. When we recall that, in addition to this command of communications, Northern Syria near the coast has an adequate rainfall and a productive soil, with an European type of climate, we can justify the momentous action of Seleucus in transferring his capital from Babylonia to Northern Syria. Relegating Seleucia to the status of a sub-capital, the seat of a viceroy (his son, Antiochus) he built for the main headquarters of his empire the city of Antioch on the Orontes about fifteen miles from the coast, the new capital being provided with a port at *Seleucia Pieria*. That this action conforms to the policy of placing the political G.H.Q. in a forward site follows from the relative positions of the three neighbouring Powers in India, Egypt and Asia Minor. The Indian capital was far from the common frontier. Between that mountainous area and the main Storehouse of the empire lay the barrier of the Lut and Kevir deserts, and India did not flank any important foreign communications, whether political or commercial. Asia Minor and Egypt were nearer to the main Storehouse of the empire, the Mesopotamian delta, and flanked or were near to the routes thence to the Mediterranean. Thus Seleucus advanced his capital to a minor Storehouse at a common focus of home and foreign communications near the middle of the principal frontier. Seleucia and the eastern dominions of the Seleucidæ were lost about B.C. 139 but the dynasty retained the western part of their territory and Antioch was the capital until their supersession by the Roman power. The duration of Antioch as a Great Capital was therefore about one hundred and sixty years. With the other Great Capital which arose later in Syria we shall have to deal again towards the close of the present chapter. Meanwhile we follow the fortunes of Ctesiphon which succeeded Antioch as the greatest capital of Western Asia. This city, built on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Seleucia, was first the capital of the Parthian, afterwards of the second Persian, or Sassanian, Empire. The country ruled from Ctesiphon did not extend on the west beyond the Mesopotamian

desert. The country under the direct administration of the Parthian Empire extended from Mesopotamia on the west to Kandahar on the east, most of its provinces lying astride the great line of communication marked by Seleucia, Ecbatana, Rhagæ (near Teheran) and thence eastwards through Khorasan. Parthia was the name of a district represented by the modern Khorasan, but the Arsacidæ were the leaders of nomads from the lowland steppes of Central Asia, so that Khorasan was not the national base as Persis had been for the Achæmenidæ. Arsaces I (B.C. c. 248-211) was proclaimed King of Asaak, now called Kuchan, in the valley of the upper Atrek, a river flowing westward to the Caspian through the borderland between the plateau of eastern Iran and the lowland steppes of Central Asia. The place lies about ninety miles north-west of Meshed. He built a royal residence some seventy-five miles east of Kuchan at Kelat-i-Nadiri, a mountain stronghold close to the lowland steppe, and distant about sixty miles north by east from Meshed. The founder of the Empire, as distinguished from the Kingdom, of Parthia was Arsaces VI, better known by his personal name as Mithridates I. (B.C. c. 170-138). He re-founded Rhagæ, near the modern Teheran, under the name of Arsacia, the city which guards the Caspian Gates, the narrow passage between the Kevir desert and the great Elburz range which is the entrance to Western Iran. By B.C. 141 he had won the Mesopotamian delta, and the administrative capital was soon moved forward to the left bank of the Tigris opposite Seleucia, where Ctesiphon was built for the accommodation of the Court and the Parthian cavalry. Thus the political and commercial headquarters of the empire were united in a dual city. Ecbatana, on the main route from the original capital of the kingdom and in the cooler climate of the highlands, was the summer residence of the Court. The principal frontier of the empire was the line of the Arabian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian desert which abutted on the civilized states now controlled by the Greeks and afterwards by Rome. The chief Storehouse of the empire was the Mesopotamian delta. Ctesi-

phon, the spot to which the capital had been advanced, was a position just within the principal Storehouse of the empire, at the junction of the route to the original recruiting ground of the Parthian cavalry on the north-east with the best approach from the principal neighbour on the north-west. The great distance through which the capital was moved, from the Atrek to the Tigris, must be correlated with the purely military character of the empire, and the fact that the army consisted essentially of cavalry archers originally recruited from nomad tribes of the Steppes.

In 226 A.D. Ardashir the Persian, of the house of Sassan, ruler of a small state in Persis of which the capital was Istahkr near Persepolis, overthrew the Arsacid dynasty and founded the second Empire of the Persians. Its headquarters was not Susa but Ctesiphon. The area effectively incorporated was greater than under the Arsacidæ. The eastern frontier did not differ greatly from that ruled by the Achæmenidæ. On the west the boundary remained at the line of the deserts, so that the whole area was much less than that formerly ruled from Susa. The Government however endured throughout four centuries instead of only two, and in estimating the greatness of capitals we have to take account of the duration as well as of the extent of their dominion.

I have pointed out that in moving to Susa Darius advanced his capital to the territory of an adjacent community. To have placed the capital in Babylonia would have straddled the territory of a neighbouring nation, a risk which has been avoided by the governments of Great Powers. But between the establishment of Susa by Darius and the occupation of Ctesiphon by Ardashir six and a half centuries had elapsed. During the interval, historians ceased to speak of an Elamite people, and all the references to Susa and its neighbourhood indicate that there was no longer a population there which broke the continuity of the Iranian people of the West Persian highlands. Therefore political geography no longer imposed strategic difficulties on the advance of the

capital from Persis to the head of the Mesopotamian delta.

Six and a half centuries is also a long time in the physical history of a deltaic region growing under the action of a river descending steeply from the mountains, and it is highly probable that access to the sea from Susa was not as good as in the days of Darius. With the western frontier at the line of the Mesopotamian desert, Ctesiphon was a position connecting the principal recruiting ground, the highlands of Western Persia, with the principal Storehouse, the Mesopotamian delta, and with the two routes by which Roman armies could advance upon the latter.

Against Rome the frontier was maintained, but at last an enemy arose in a new quarter who overthrew the Sassanian dynasty. Mesopotamia and Persia still remained politically united, but for rather more than a century were ruled from an external capital. From 622 A.D. Medina and Mecca were the political and religious capitals of Mahomet, who achieved the integration of the tribes of the Arabian peninsula, and they were retained as capitals by his three following successors. The neighbourhood of these cities is the best connecting position for the more fertile parts of the Arabian peninsula. This large region stands mostly at a considerable elevation, and has its steeper slope to the south west. This slope catches moisture from the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, so that these coastlands are the best watered. The interior on the south is utterly desert, and on the north there is another large desert not much less forbidding. Between these lies a region of comparative fertility, with fairly easy access to the middle of the west coastland, where Mecca and Medina stand centrally. The importance of this coastland was enhanced in ancient times both by its use as a route for trade in competition with the navigation of the Red Sea, and also by the fact that South-West Arabia then produced a much larger proportion than it does now of the spices required in the West. Even to-day, however, the grouping of population as shown by the current estimates indicates the predominant

importance of the western coastland and of the central oasis.

The expansion of Islam beyond the Arabian peninsula was very rapid in the years immediately following the death of Mahomet. The Sassanian dynasty of Persia was overthrown in a decisive battle in 636, Antioch taken in 638 and Alexandria in 640. The Persian Empire was completely overthrown and its territories occupied, including its great Storehouse the Mesopotamian delta, which was at this time cultivated as well as, or better than, ever before. The Egyptian delta had also been acquired, but the Byzantine Empire from which it was shorn was still formidable, and its possessions in Asia Minor remained nearly, if not quite, intact.

The district of Mecca and Medina, suitable for the federal centre of Arabian tribes, was not adapted for connecting the peninsula with the conquered deltas of Mesopotamia and the Nile, for defending these against attack from Asia Minor, nor for a base from which to attack Asia Minor. Neither as a Storehouse of supplies could it compare with those in the conquered territories.

When the Caliphate was in dispute between Ali and Moawiah, governor of Syria, the former had his headquarters at Kufa in Mesopotamia. This city had been founded by the Arabs in 638 immediately after the battle of Kadasiya in which the Sassanian Empire had been overthrown. It stands on the Hindieh canal, west of the Euphrates, about thirty miles south of the site of Babylon, on the present pilgrim road to Mecca. It was, in fact, founded as a connection between Arabia and the Mesopotamian delta, the position having advantages for a people relying on camel transport which it would not otherwise possess. When Ali established himself as Caliph in 661 A.D. he neither retained Kufa as capital nor reverted to Mecca and Medina, but made the Syrian city of Damascus the political capital of Islam. The chief recruiting base of the Caliph was still the Arabian peninsula, and we have to take account of this in our examination of the position of Damascus. This city, already in the seventh century of high

antiquity, lies in the fertile oasis of Sham, where the Abana and Pharpar, or Barada and Awaj, carry towards the interior of the continent the moisture which is caught from the Mediterranean winds by Mount Hermon. The rainfall in the district is sufficient to enable cereals to be grown in large quantities, so that the district is a considerable Storehouse of supplies. It is by position and climate an outpost of the steppe and desert country, and it is therefore in accordance with a policy exemplified in cases already examined that the Caliphs preferred it as capital to its *vis-à-vis* Antioch, situated about one hundred and ninety miles to the north on the Mediterranean slope.

Two sieges of Constantinople in the twenty years which followed the institution of Damascus as the capital of the Caliphs illustrate the forward position of the city in relation to the frontier of the principal neighbouring Power. It was central and focal for internal communication from the Indus to the Pyrenees.

Damascus occupied the typical position for the capital of United Islam as long as Arabia was the main recruiting ground of its ruler. It was replaced by Bagdad when the Abbasid dynasty succeeded that of the Ommayyad caliphs. This is not one of the instances of the migration of a capital consequent upon consolidation of an empire. On the contrary, it registers the result of a revolution within the empire. The Caliph was he who succeeded in obtaining the recognition of the Faithful as representative of the Prophet, and, as time went on and Islam extended, the Arabs formed a diminishing proportion of the Faithful. The revolution which established the Abbasid dynasty originated in Khorasan. The supporters of the dynasty were largely the non-Arab Moslems of Persia. Battles were fought in the Persian highlands and in Mesopotamia, the forces of the Caliph of Damascus were driven westward, and in 749 Abdul-Abbas the Abbasid was proclaimed Caliph at Kufa the former capital of Ali. The Ommayyad dynasty fell in the following year, and the Abbasids became masters of both Syria and Egypt. The second Abbasid Caliph Mansur, who succeeded in 754, did not, however, advance

his capital to Damascus, which would have resulted in separating himself from his most reliable recruiting ground by an interval of desert. Neither did he retain Kufa on the Arabian side of Mesopotamia as his headquarters, but built a fortified capital at Bagdad near the junction of the Diala and Tigris, some twenty-five miles north of Ctesiphon, in a position connecting Mesopotamia and Persia. The new city soon eclipsed the glories of Damascus. It is in accordance with the relative ease of communication that the political control of Arabia soon passed from the Abbasid Caliphs, but that the union of Persia with Mesopotamia was maintained. Thus from Bagdad was long ruled a dominion whose frontiers corresponded generally with those of the Sassanian Empire. When the political power of the Caliphs declined they relied for support upon one of the dynasties of Seljuk Turks, who had arrived on the Persian plateau from the Oxus region, and the Seljuk sultan, making Bagdad his political capital, perpetuated the connection of Persia and Mesopotamia. It was only when Hulagu the Mongol in 1258 A.D. devastated the Mesopotamian delta and allowed its irrigation canals to fall into disrepair that Bagdad ceased to be a great capital. From that time the Mesopotamian delta ceased to be a Storehouse of supplies and the capitals of the Mongol Ilkhans, of the Persian Sufawids, and of the later rulers of Persia, have been on the plateau.

The Mongols ruled from the north-west, successively at Meragha and Tabriz in Azerbaijan and at Sultania half way between Tabriz and Teheran, but the Persian national dynasty which succeeded them had its capital at Ispahan. Here are remains of Persian occupation in very ancient times, and the district is considered to be comprised in the Anshan district of Elam where, we are told, the forefathers of Cyrus ruled as subordinate kings. This was the capital when a great military leader, Nadir Shah, succeeded the last of the Sufawids. Turning his back on the Mesopotamian delta, no longer a place of wealth, Nadir took his army to Khorasan and thence struck both east and north. He took and held Kabul, then reckoned

an integral part of the Indian Empire and, after sacking Delhi, made a treaty which gave him territory as far as the Indus. On the north he established his treaty frontier on the Oxus. Consequent upon these achievements he advanced his capital to Meshed, the provincial capital of Khorasan, whence the routes diverge to the country of the Oxus and to Kandahar and Kabul. No successor consolidated the conquests of Nadir and the status of Meshed as an imperial capital was therefore transitory. Nevertheless it is instructive to note that the policy of carrying the capital to a forward position was common to Nadir and Darius, but that, in consequence of the changed economic condition of the neighbouring countries the modern advance from the recruiting base of the West Persian highland was in the opposite direction to that of the earlier expansion.

Bagdad, the last representative of the long succession of imperial capitals reached by river navigation from the head of the Persian Gulf, is no longer surrounded by a teeming population as the capitals of China and India, countries of monsoon rain, still are. But the ruin of Mesopotamian irrigation is only one of two causes which have brought about a decline greater than that of any other great capitals in Asia, Africa or Europe. The other was the side-tracking of the east-and-west trade-routes through West Persia and Mesopotamia. From the time of Cyrus until very nearly that of Jenghiz Khan the five-hundred-mile-wide passage between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian provided the only caravan route between China and India on the east and Egypt and Europe on the west. At the very time that the Mongols wasted Mesopotamia they were opening up trade between the Far East and Europe north of the Caspian, thereby side-tracking Persia. At the moment when the Persians re-established their independence under the great Sufawid dynasty (1499 A.D.), the Persian Gulf, and therefore the Mesopotamian delta also, was being side-tracked by the opening of navigation round the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER III

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN ITALY.—THE ISOTHERMAL FRONTIER OF ANCIENT CITIES.—IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN THE MARMORA REGION

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN ITALY, B.C. 509 TO A.D. 476

ROME lies in the promontory adjacent to that in which Sparta, Athens and Philippi are situated, but their countries face in opposite directions, the mountain ranges back to back close to the Adriatic shore. Moreover the land connection between the Balkan and Italian peninsulas is impeded by the lofty and intricate Illyrian mountains, offshoots of the Alps. The sea-way between the two basins of the Mediterranean is likewise restricted at the passage between Sicily and Tunis.

The projecting portion of the region now termed Italy mostly slopes towards the Tyrrhenian Sea, where lie the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, with Sicily on the southern margin. The Apennines cross the country on the line of the forty-fourth parallel of latitude. They leave on the west a steep and narrow slope to the sea north of the Gulf of Spezzia, whilst on the east they approach close to the Adriatic where the short stream of the Rubicon near the boundary of the great plain of the Po marked the limit of the early Italy. This east-and-west part of the Apennines has a fairly well-defined crest, short swift rivers furrowing its flanks, with valleys opening to the lowlands, and therefore does not provide protected habitations for any considerable communities of

highlanders. South of the Rubicon and the forty-fourth parallel the easternmost crests of the central Apennines run not far from the Adriatic shore, which is here for the most part inhospitable to shipping, whilst further south the range trends away from the Adriatic and once more approaches closely to the western, or Tyrrhenian, coast leaving only a narrow interval between their crest and the sea from the Gulf of Policastro southwards. Consequently all the country that lies between the Tyrrhenian coast (from the Gulf of Spezzia to that of Policastro) and the furthest crests of the Apennines forms a natural region within which communications are easier than with the outside world. In spite of diversity of surface and differences of elevation, the district has a considerable approach to uniformity of climate and vegetation. It is rather larger than the "Greece proper" of ancient geography, and about the same size as the country which slopes to the east coast of England.

The central Apennines in the modern provinces of Umbria and the Marches, Abruzzi and Molise, are unlike the Northern Apennines, for they are not a single ridge but three ranges in breadth. Secluded amid their ramifications are upland valleys of considerable size, readily defensible and fairly fertile. These were the home of highland communities in which territorial attachment and a considerable degree of political cohesion were early attained. The broad central Apennines approach to within thirty miles of the western coast, so that here the principal home of the highlanders in the ancient Italy comes closest to the Tyrrhenian sea. This narrowing of the western foreground of the mountains has the effect of dividing the lower country into a northern and a southern district.

Between the Apennines and the older rock of their western foreground runs a long fracture which is marked by valleys nearly parallel with the coast but at a considerable distance inland. The principal rivers of the western slope of Italy after leaving the upper valleys of the Apennines turn along this line of fracture so as to run more or less truly parallel to the

coast for a considerable part of their course, before making the final turn which brings them to the sea. In the north is the Arno, in the centre the Tiber, and southward the Lira and the Volturno. The Tiber, which rises where the Apennines are furthest from the western coast, has the most central position, the longest course and the greatest number of tributaries. It leaves the vicinity of the Apennines where the broad part of the mountains approaches the Tyrrhenian shore and flows seawards across the plain. In early times the river had a navigable depth where Rome was built, and good harbourage at its mouth. The plain of the lower Tiber is known as the Campagna. North-west of it lies the country as far as the Arno (fertile, and rich in copper and other minerals) which was the main Storehouse of the Etruscans. South-east lie the hills of Latium and the fertile district of modern Naples. North-east is the largest group of the upland valleys of the Apennines. It follows that the small plain of the Campagna is the connecting district between the northern and southern parts of the western foreground of the Apennines, flanks their maritime communications, and is also the best connection of the principal upland valleys of the Apennines with the sea.

Rome is situated in the centre of the Campagna, which extends for about forty miles parallel to the coast and for about thirty miles inland. This plain is bounded on the north-west and south-east by volcanic mountains of late formation whose extinct craters enclose high-lying lakes. Lago Albano lies thirteen miles south-east of Rome among the Alban hills which attain an elevation of three-thousand feet. Lago Bracciano, or *Lacus Sabatinus*, lies seventeen miles north-west of Rome among hills attaining a height of two thousand feet. Eighteen miles east-north-east of Rome between Monte Ripoli and Monte Sterparo the Anio descends in a waterfall from the Apennines, at the site of Tivoli. The valley of this river (which joins the left bank of the Tiber about three miles above Rome) is a natural line of communica-

tion eastward from the Campagna into the very heart of the upland valleys of the central Apennines. The culminating point of this part of the Apennines, Monte Gennaro, six miles north of Tivoli with an altitude of four thousand one hundred feet, is distant twenty-one miles from Rome. Rome's former seaport, Ostia, lies thirteen miles south-west of the city, but the silt deposited by the river has driven back the tideless sea during the last two thousand years. Rome itself stands on a group of volcanic hills nearly two hundred feet in height which abut on the left bank of the Tiber. A smaller group of similar hills rises opposite to them about a quarter of a mile from the right bank. The present width of the river here is rather more than three hundred feet. The depth in ancient times appears to have been about twelve feet, which was sufficient for the sea-going ships of the day. The control of the waterway was facilitated by an island of firm ground in mid-channel, an exceptional feature in the Tiber.

Geography is specially concerned with favoured districts; history with decisive epochs. Therefore in the historical geography of a country we have to ascertain which district was favourably circumstanced at each decisive epoch of its story. The Roman Empire was won from a single city. I shall therefore pass by the stage when there were, as we are told, a number of independent settlements on the Roman hills, which were subsequently united and surrounded by the Servian wall. Neither shall I dwell on the dual nationality which, we are told, was the origin of the Plebeian and Patrician orders. I also pass over the stage during which Rome was, it is said, numbered among the cities held by the Etruscans. It will be sufficient for our purpose to observe that these conditions point to a keen competition between the districts surrounding the Campagna for use and control of the site of Rome. The Roman Empire, using the word in its territorial sense, was won by a steady advance in the power of the city from the time of its institution as a Republic in 509 B.C. By this time all classes of the inhabitants seem to have regarded

themselves as Romans first and foremost, whether originally Latin, Sabine or Etruscan. The territory permanently in their occupation may be described without risk of much error as extending along the Tiber from the coast to the Anio. Latin cities held the rest of the southern Campagna as far as the left bank of the Anio, the Sabines most of the corner of the Campagna between the Anio and Tiber, and Etruscan cities the remainder, that is to say all between the right bank of the Tiber and the coast, except such parts near the Tiber below its junction with the Anio as were controlled by Rome. They had also a holding on the left bank of the Tiber just above the Anio.

The site of Rome possessed advantages as a base from which to conquer the Campagna which appear to be greater than those of any other city in the area, and, as far as I can ascertain, greater than those of any other site which could have been found. The hilly site on the river, and the island, have already been mentioned. The local volcanic rock was easily quarried, and there was material for cement of extraordinary hardness. The lava provided blocks particularly well suited for the construction of paved roads, and this may well have had a determining influence on the policy of constructing strategic roads which from early days played so prominent a part in the consolidation of Roman conquests. The peculiar advantage of Rome, however, as a base for conquering the plain is suggested by the fact that the views over the Campagna both of and from the city are so generally celebrated. The special advantages depend, in fact, upon the relation of the three conditions of distance, relief and atmosphere. There were, indeed, parts of the Campagna where the movement of bodies of men could not be observed from Rome, but there could be few spots where they could not be detected either from Rome or from the mountains surrounding the plain, and the usually clear air makes it easy to signal from the mountains to Rome or from Rome to the mountains. The edge of the plain is in most places within twenty, more often within fifteen, miles

of the city, hence no part was safe from a sudden sally of the garrison of this admirable observation post, which from the earliest times possessed cavalry as well as infantry.

The volcanic soil of the Campagna is fertile, the present desolation of the district being due to an increase of malaria. Such increase can be very rapid, for it results not only from the increase in the number of *anopheles* mosquitoes consequent on the neglect of cultivation and drainage, but also from the infection of the newly-hatched mosquitoes by the blood of a malarious population. In the early days of the Roman Republic the district was a sufficient agricultural Storehouse for the food of a large city, as cities were at this time in Italy. The outstanding strategic character of the Campagna is however that of a Crossways. This is illustrated by an episode in the long struggle between Rome and Veii, the last rival city of the Campagna. Veii stood ten miles north-north-west of Rome, on a small right-bank tributary of the Tiber, the ancient Cremera, or modern Fosso di Valchetta, which reaches the main river by a direct course of six miles at a point between two and three miles higher up than the Anio. Close to the left bank of the Tiber opposite to the confluence of the Cremera stood the Etruscan city Fidenæ, the ally of Veii and the scene of much of the fighting in the earlier stage of the decisive struggle between the latter city and Rome. Veii not only absorbed part of the produce of the Campagna but, with Fidenæ as a bridge-head on the left bank of the river, could contest the monopoly of the important communications between Etruria proper and Campania (the district of Naples, to be carefully distinguished from the Campagna) as well as the route up the Anio valley. The rapid expansion of Roman power began after she had monopolized the control of communications across the Campagna and it is significant in this connection that when Veii was taken in 396 B.C. the city was razed to the ground. The success of Rome against the Etruscans was furthered by the circumstance that the situation of

Etruria exposed its people to the first of the Gallic incursions shortly before 400 B.C.

The dominion of Rome was extended from the Campagna first over the city communities of the lowlands west of the Apennines and then over the tribal communities of the Apennine highlands. The struggle with the latter was especially arduous, and it was not until 290 B.C., rather more than one hundred years after the fall of Veii, that the city of Rome ruled over a confederacy of subordinate allies comprising the Italian promontory from 44° to about 40° North Latitude. The commanding Crossways of the Campagna, facilitating strategic control of both land and sea communication between the surrounding northern, southern, and eastern districts, had been an advantageous headquarters from which to win this ascendancy. Whether it would be suitable for the capital of the consolidated country depended upon the position of the principal foreign neighbour at this time. We have seen that the Italian and Greek promontories stand back to back, and that the former has a good frontier towards the plain of the Po. Its best communications with the developed countries were from the western coast. From Ostia, the port of Rome, across the Tyrrhenian sea to Carthage is only about one third the sailing distance which separates Ostia from the Greek cities of the *Ægean*. The fertile country of Tunis and Algeria, dominated by Carthage, was protected against the power of Egyptian armies by the Lybian desert. It had good harbours, and was well placed for winning the mastery of Sicily, which, in the hands of a maritime power, would go far to ensure preponderance in the Western Mediterranean over Greek navies based on the *Ægean*.

Carthage being the principal foreign neighbour of the Great Power newly formed in Italy, the city of Rome, with its seaport Ostia was the position which connected the main foreign approach (the sea) with the one great junction of home communications.

The critical struggle with Carthage lasted until 202 A.D.,

so that we may reckon, very roughly, that from the foundation of the Roman Republic the first century was occupied in winning the Campagna from the Seven Hills of Rome, the second in winning the Italian promontory from the Campagna, and the third in winning the dominant status in the lands of the Western Mediterranean with the men and material provided by the Italian promontory. The conquest of the Campagna was achieved while Western Asia and Egypt were ruled from Susa by the Archænidæ, the conquest of the remainder of the Italian peninsula was not completed until after the foundation of Antioch, and Persia was still ruled from that city when Carthage was overthrown.

Spain, which had been a principal base of Carthaginian resources, was conquered by Rome from oversea before trans-Alpine Gaul was hers. After the fall of Carthage the chief civilized neighbours of Rome were the Greek and Macedonian States of the Eastern Mediterranean, and, at a cursory glance, Rome therefore seems to stand in the rear of its dominions at this period, but it is not so if due account be taken of the conditions of communication. This was still by sea only, and the best ports of the *promontory* of Italy are on the shores of the Tyrrhenian sea, not of the Adriatic. The colonization of Cis-Alpine Gaul made the plain of the Po part of Italy, but it did not provide a strategic connection with the Balkan peninsula and Asia for a long time afterwards, for the Illyrian tribes in the mountain stronghold of modern Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro effectually barred the way.

Until the conquest of Illyria and Gaul the Roman Republic was a maritime Empire in the sense that essential territories were only connected by the sea. Communication between Italy and Spain was across the Western Mediterranean, with Greece proper and Macedonia across the straits of Otranto. Asia Minor could be reached by the road which ran by Salonika to the Dardanelles, and thence by the Gallipoli crossing, but intercourse was largely carried on by the sea route from Rome to Ephesus and onwards by the roads which radiated thence

through Asia Minor. Thus the original capital was well placed for the new internal communications, which were by sea, as before the beginning of the Punic wars it had been well placed for the internal land communications of the Italian promontory.

Parthia was now the principal foreign neighbour, but this State never threatened the existence of Rome, as Carthage did.

With the conquest of Illyria and Gaul continuity of road was established throughout the European provinces, and westward traffic, both commercial and military, from Thrace went increasingly by the north-western road *via* Sofia, Nish, Belgrade and Sirmium (Mitrovitsa) to Venetia, and relatively less by the Egnatian way through Salonika to the straits of Otranto. The routes from Northern Italy to the Rhone and Rhine valleys also grew in importance. Thus the plain of the Po became increasingly important as a junction of the internal communications of the Empire.

On account, however, of the importance of the maritime communications with the provinces of Africa, Egypt and Asia Minor, Rome long remained a more suitable site for headquarters than a city in the valley of the Po.

In the third century *Anno Domini*, however, the pressure of the northern tribes had greatly increased. The Teutonic tribes dwelling on the frontier had probably gained in resources and military efficiency as a result of intercourse with their more efficient neighbour. There may also have been an increase of resident population owing to extension of agriculture in the lands beyond the Rhine and Danube. A crisis came when the Goths occupied the Steppe country to the north of the Black Sea and captured the chain of Greek cities along the coast which formed part of the Roman frontier. The control of the Black Sea had until now remained dependent upon the possession of these naval bases, and to a large extent upon the shipping which they maintained. Since Vespasian (A.D. 70-79) did away with Thracian independence and made Thrace a Roman province, the commercial and military traffic of the

Empire had passed through the coast-provinces of the Marmora to an ever increasing extent, and this traffic had more and more forsaken the Gallipoli for the Bosphorus crossing. The capital of the Thracian kings had been rebuilt by Hadrian, under his own name, as Adrianople, and was of great importance from its position at the convergence of the roads from the north-west and north, from the basins of the middle and the lower Danube. But the Marmora provinces, Thrace, Bithynia and Mysia, had been treated as a junction of internal communications and were without local protection from foreign attack. The Goths, who according to their own tradition came from Scandinavia and who showed the characteristic naval aptitude of the later Vikings, took over the shipping of the Romano-Greek cities, pressed the seamen into their service, and not only ravaged the coasts of the Black Sea, but, passing through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles in 262 A.D., sacked the cities on both shores of the Ægean. Under such conditions the communications between the European and Asiatic provinces of the empire were jeopardized both on the ferry route across the Straits and on the long-sea routes. The Goths also attacked by land across the lower Danube, so that the essential connection between the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor was threatened by land as well as sea. It is obvious therefore that the coast-provinces of the Marmora, and more particularly the shores of the Bosphorus, had to be re-organized with a view to defence.

This is one of the factors which helped to make the Marmora provinces a metropolitan district. From the purely strategic point of view (which is only one of several aspects which we shall have to consider) it is well to compare the action of Kublai Khan in moving his capital when the communications between Mongolia and China proper were threatened from Manchuria.

The western frontier of the Roman Empire, the Atlantic coast, needed no protection, and provided no commercial outlet. The desert African frontier was backed on the south

only by tropical forest, which had never been a seat of barbarian power, so that this frontier had only to be lightly held. The Eurasian frontier, which ran from the mouth of the Rhine to the Red Sea, had to be strongly held, and it was across this frontier also that the foreign trade passed. The distance from the Gulf of Akaba to the lower bend of the Euphrates and thence to Adrianople, is equal to the direct distance from that Thracian City to the mouth of the Rhine. There were three maritime approaches to the empire from Eurasian countries, the Red Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Straits of Dover. The first did not give access to the Mediterranean, the last was far from that sea, but the passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles lay close to the busiest waters of the Roman lake. Thus, in respect to military, naval, and commercial communications, the provinces which had coasts on the Marmora (Thrace, Bithynia and Mysia), had claims to consideration as the site for the capital of the Empire. In local resources the district was fairly well off, while in Italy agriculture had declined. Asia Minor had long been developed, and much of Bithynia is very fertile. The neighbourhood of Adrianople, naturally fertile, had been more recently developed, and the continental slope of the Balkan peninsula had, since the Roman conquest of Illyria, enjoyed a period of united, ordered, and enlightened government such as it had never before experienced and has never since enjoyed. We have seen, however, that although a forward position is typical, the choice of a capital has been limited to positions in or adjacent to the country of the dominant community in an empire. In the Roman Empire of the third century of our era the Europeans dominated, but the mass of them were strongly divided into Latin and Greek speaking people, the former mainly grouped around the western, the latter round the eastern Mediterranean. It was desirable therefore that, if possible, the capital should connect the original headquarters of these two communities, and both with the frontier provinces. A position near the Straits of Otranto would not have had sufficient local advan-

tages and was too far from the frontier provinces, whilst on the great highway across the Balkan peninsula no position much east of Venetia would be connected with Italy, and none west of the province of Thrace with the Ægean lands. The extensive and tangled mass of the Illyrian mountains which had kept these communities apart were unsuitable for the site of a capital. On the whole therefore it was certain that an eastern capital was required but doubtful if a western capital could be dispensed with.

Diocletian, ascending the throne in 284 A.D., associated with himself a colleague of the same order of political rank, an "Augustus." The residence of the junior Augustus was established in Italy, not however at Rome but Milan, whilst Diocletian himself took up residence at Nicomedia, the modern Ismid on the Asiatic shore of the Marmora, in the province of Bithynia, near the Bosphorus. The clear indication of these acts is the policy of a western and eastern capital, but with the new, eastern, as the main headquarters. The growth of a great Asiatic city in the vicinity of the Bosphorus rather than that of the Dardanelles, the more ancient crossing place, and its adoption as an imperial headquarters was due to the peculiar relation between the mountain ranges and river valleys in Western Asia Minor which causes the natural routes from the main interior to converge on the Bithynian coast and the Bosphorus and avoid the Mysian coast and the Dardanelles. More will be said upon this point presently.

Between 330 A.D. and 476 A.D. the Empire was sometimes ruled from two capitals by associated emperors. The capital of the western half was then in Italy, the administration being however not in Rome but at Milan until 402, or 404, A.D. and from then until the end of the associated Western Empire (in 476) at the more defensible city of Ravenna, which is also north of the Apennines. Both these positions were more exposed than Rome to the attack of the invading Teutonic nations, but, as usual, circumstances evidently constrained the government to take a front seat, and place themselves

at a principal junction of home and foreign communication.

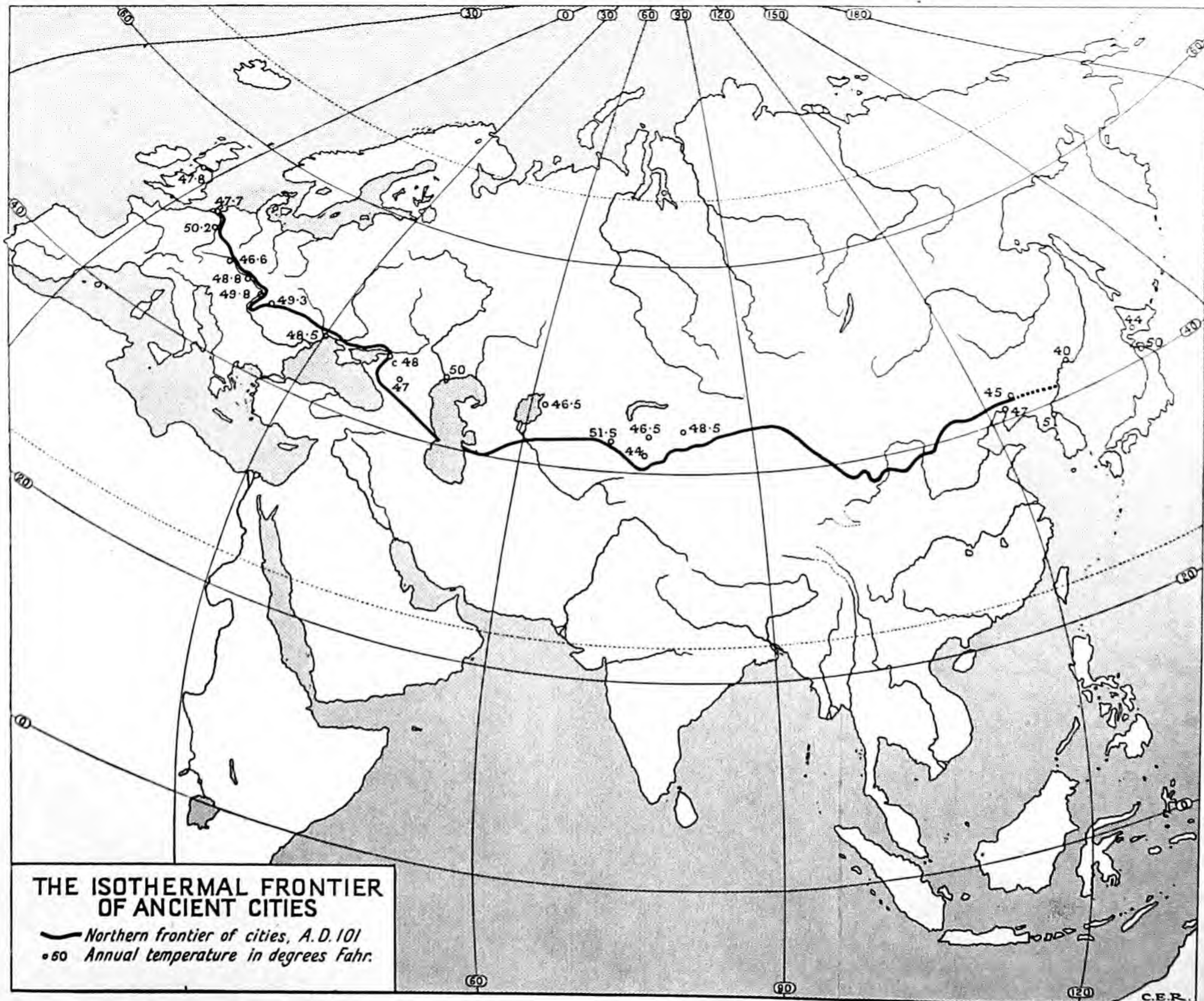
The consideration of the capitals established in the Marmora Region involves a review of events extending from A.B. 330, the political foundation of Christendom with Constantinople as its capital, to 1453 when this city was taken over as capital of a leading Mohammedan Power. It will be well, therefore, to introduce at this point in my narrative a description of northern frontier reached by the ancient cities of Eurasia in the golden age of Heathendom when the Antonines ruled the Roman Empire and the Han Dynasty that of China. [Appendix, note 2.]

THE ISOTHERMAL FRONTIER OF ANCIENT CITIES ¹

THE CONSECUTIVE NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF THE GREAT POWERS IN THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.

The period of more than seven centuries from the rise of Cyrus the Persian to the death of Marcus Aurelius (which was in 180 A.D.) is distinguished from previous history and from the next thirteen centuries by the maintenance of the northern frontiers of City civilization against the tribes of the pasture lands and forests. The Great Powers extended their territories from the Pacific to the Atlantic shore of the Old World Continents along lines running nearly east and west, which is the direction of least resistance to colonization because it involves the least climatic change. In the last century before the time of Christ their northern frontiers coalesced, forming an unbroken line from the coast of Holland to the eastern shore of the Korean peninsula, a distance of about seven thousand miles following only the broad sweeps

¹ See a paper on *The Isothermal Frontier of Ancient Cities* communicated by the author to Section E (Geography) at the Hull meeting of the British Association, 1922, and published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*.



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of the line on a general map of Eurasia, not the smaller bends. To the south of this line were cities of brick and stone and fortifications of masonry. North of it were powerful communities some of whom were closely akin in race to those south of the line, and armed like them with weapons of iron, but living in wooden huts or in tents, and constructing their fortifications of earth and timber. I shall now trace the course of the common frontier at the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, giving special attention to those parts of which the usual descriptions are vague or slight. Considerable stretches of the frontier coincide with formidable natural obstructions to movement along the meridian. In other stretches the lack of natural barriers was made good by lines of fortification, the chief of which was the Great Wall of China with a length of about sixteen hundred miles. We have seen that the headquarters of the empires of ancient civilization were often in a Storehouse of natural wealth or a Crossways suitable for accumulating wealth by commerce. If, however, we survey the modern economic development of Europe and Asia we see that much of the country north of the line has great fertility as well as mineral wealth. The frontier was therefore not a sterile limit. We are consequently driven to look further for natural factors contributing to the determination of the most important boundary in the political history of mankind. If we examine the European part we shall see that it was not determined by the southern limit of the great deciduous forests which characterized the country outside the Mediterranean region, for much forest was cleared and settled on the Roman side of the line. In Asia the nomadic horsemen remained in possession of most of the best pasture, but there was pasture land adjacent on the south which they coveted but were unable to obtain.

In passing along the northern frontier of ancient cities from the North Sea to Central Asia and from Central Asia to the Sea of Japan the variation in rainfall and in seasonal range of temperature are very great, which seems to suggest that the

frontier is not a climatic line. I have found, however, that the boundary follows with remarkable closeness a line of country which has an equal average temperature taking the year as a whole. The line in fact almost coincides with the true annual isotherm of 48·5 degrees of the Fahrenheit thermometer. The nearness of the approximation, when we take account of the enormous length of the line and the great variations in the seasonal range of temperature, is so remarkable as to be startling.

When we follow in history the northerly advance of the civilized frontier of Europe we cannot fail to notice that it was slow where the consecutive isothermal lines are close together as in the Balkan peninsula, rapid where they are far apart as in Gaul. The development of colder countries entails hardships on the pioneers from warmer lands which are forgotten by those who live in the more northern lands after conditions of comfort have been achieved, and I do not think it need be doubted that the fact of the northern limit of cities being an annual isotherm is not wholly accidental.

As the actual line was partly determined by the position of obstructions and by aridity the coincidence is partly accidental, but, as I have already pointed out, obstructions and aridity do not of themselves make the line obligatory, and the attainment of an equal share of the sun's heat throughout the seasons seems therefore to have been an important determining condition. That a colder winter is roughly compensated in the matter of agricultural production by a hotter summer is well known. Something will be said at the end of the chapter about the agricultural character of the line.

At the beginning of the second century *Anno Domini* Rome was at her zenith under Trajan, and China in her golden age under the dynasty of Han. The settled country between the lands of Rome and China had formerly been ruled in its entirety by the Persian Achæmenidæ, but at this date the northern provinces were shared between the Parthians, capi-

talled at Ctesiphon and the Kushan dynasty of the Yue-chi, a people who had come from the steppes but no longer held northern territory and were capitalled at Peshawar in the Indus valley.

The following stretches of the civilized frontier long remained stationary and are easily traced. The first is that part of the Roman frontier which followed the Rhine upwards to near Bonn, then crossed to the Danube near Ratisbon, protected along a great part of the way by a wall, and then followed the Danube to its junction with the Theiss a little above Belgrade. The mean annual temperatures along this line are as follows :—Utrecht 47.7° F., Cologne 50.2° F., Ratisbon 46.6° F., Vienna 48.5° F., Budapest 49.8° F.

The section between Belgrade and Odessa was variable and will have to be examined in more detail presently. The Greek colonies along the north shore of the Black Sea, the range of the Caucasus and the coast of the unsailed Caspian form a second definite, lasting, and well-known section of the frontier.

The stretch from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the beginning of the Chinese wall was more fluctuating and is the least generally known, and this I shall presently describe in more detail.

The line of the Chinese Wall is shown on every good atlas and need not detain us, but the last stretch, from "the mountain sea-gate," where the wall ends between the Gulf of Chih-li and the Gulf of Liao-tung, to the east coast of Korea will need careful description. Even apart from the interest of the isothermal line it is desirable to give an account of the frontier districts Dacia, the Trans-Oxus region, the Liao-tung province and Korea in order to appreciate the economic unity of the city civilization of the ancient world. When the limits have been made clear a list of average temperatures of modern frontier towns or towns north and south of the frontier will be given as they are actually observed, not, as the expression is, "reduced to sea level."

DACIA

The official colonizing by the Romans of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia was induced by the growth of a trans-Danubian State which was beginning to adopt those mechanic arts which contributed so much to the stability and power of the Mediterranean civilization. The Dacians, enlisting Roman architects as instructors, had begun to construct walled strongholds and stone towers of defence. The capital of their State was Sarmigethusa, represented by the small town of Várhely (or Gredistye) near the south-western corner of Transylvania in a mountain valley traversed by a left-bank tributary of the Maros, a river which flows westward from the Transylvanian highland across the Hungarian plain to join the Theiss. The site is about ten miles east of the railway which now runs up to a pass leading across the Transylvanian Alps to the plain of Wallachia. Its direct distance across the mountains from the Iron Gates, the gorge through which the Danube takes its way to the Wallachian plain, is about seventy miles. From Belgrade, an important position on the communications between the Latin and Hellenic provinces of the Roman Empire, it is distant about one hundred and forty miles. As early as the days of Julius Caesar the Dacian state was regarded as a menace, and it is said that Caesar planned an expedition for its subjugation. It was the policy of Augustus not to cross the Danube or to carry the Danube frontier below the Iron Gates, but in the reign of Domitian the Roman arms suffered reverses from the Dacians under Decebalus. The steady consolidation of Dacia as a settled but warlike State brought Trajan into the field in the first year of the second century of our era, and the menace to the Roman communications was removed.

The strategic advantages of the Transylvanian highlands for raids against the Romans are easily discerned: what needs explanation is the tendency to the native development of masonry fortifications in Transylvania, a process which recalls

the early history of Italy and contrasts with the contemporary history of Germany. The geographical factor in the explanation is climate, as determined by the relief of land between the Carpathian Mountains and the Eastern Mediterranean. The great promontory which we call the Balkan peninsula is not walled off from the Continent along its base, as is the Spanish promontory by the Pyrenees. The mountains which traverse it run close to the Adriatic and then across to the middle of its eastern shores. The lands to the west and south of these dividing ranges lie warm, and on the south there are fertile valleys and good harbours. The continental slope of the peninsula, declining towards the right bank of the Danube, faces generally north-east and is exposed in winter to the winds from the Steppe lands, and so the high-lying parts have a cold and inclement climate. The opposite lands sloping to the Danube from the north, and sheltered by the great bow of the Carpathians, have on the contrary a warm aspect. The difference of slope and shelter compensates, or more than compensates, the more northern latitude, and in Transylvania the valleys are comparatively warm, as well as being suitable for the military defence of young communities. Thus it came about that Mediterranean civilization made a long halt near the dividing line of the slopes of the Balkan peninsula, giving time for the beginning of an independent civilization in more northern but more sheltered lands across the Danube.

Sarmizegethusa, the native capital of the Dacians, was retained as general administrative headquarters of the three divisions of Roman Dacia. The climate may be inferred from that of the modern Hermannstadt, or Nagyszeben, somewhat similarly situated about forty-five miles to the east on the railroad which crosses the Rothenthurm pass to Wallachia, which was traversed by a Roman road. This place, which stands at a height of fourteen hundred feet, has an average temperature of 48·9 degrees Fahrenheit throughout the year, about one degree less than that of Sofia (50·9 degrees Fahrenheit) which stands at a height of eighteen hundred feet two hundred miles

further south. The northernmost district-capital of Roman Dacia, Porolissum was about one hundred and forty miles from Sarmizegethusa, almost due north, and in a somewhat similar orographical situation. Debreczen, eighty miles to the west in the Hungarian plain and at a level of four hundred feet, has an average temperature of 49·3 degrees, so that of Porolissum would be rather lower.

The Wallachian plain on the left bank of the Danube sheltered by the Transylvanian Alps is warmer than the neighbourhood of Sofia, the average temperature at Bucharest being fifty-one degrees. The Province of Dacia provided a land-link with the ancient Greek settlements on the north coast of the Black Sea, which were important outposts of the Roman Empire. Of these Odessa was one, a city where the average temperature of the year is 48·5 degrees. Azof, near Tanais, an ancient trading station of the Greeks, is shown on Berghaus' atlas as about half a degree colder.

By the time of Aurelian, 270-275 A.D., the north shore of the Black Sea had been gained by the Goths, and the Roman frontier below the junction of the Theiss and Danube was drawn back to the line of the latter river. Thereafter the frontier of settled States between the mouth of the Danube and the Caucasus went by the southern instead of the northern shore of the Black Sea.

The average temperature at Tiflis, at a height of fourteen hundred and ninety feet on the south of the glaciated Caucasus, is fifty four and a half degrees; at Stavropol on the forty-fifth parallel north of the range and at a height of two thousand feet, forty-seven degrees Fahrenheit. On the east shore of the Caspian the northern frontier of city civilization is marked by the Asiatic Balkans which renew the interrupted line of the Caucasus near the point where Krasnovodsk faces Baku. The average temperature at the latter place is fifty-eight, and at Astrakan near the north of the Caspian, fifty degrees.

THE TRANS-OXUS PROVINCE OF THE WEST-ASIAN CAPITALS

The Empire of Cyrus and the successors of his house had a much better northern frontier than the ancient Empire of China ; much better also than the European frontier of the Roman Empire. The Black Sea, the glaciated Caucasus, and the Caspian effectually divided most of the Persian Empire from the unsettled North. East of the Caspian there stretches north eastward from the range of the Asiatic Balkans and the Kopet Dagh a formidable desert of stationary and moving sands. The first part, known as the Kara-Kum, extends as far as the oasis of Khiva on the lower Oxus. Beyond this fertile interval the desert goes by the name of Kizil Kum as far as the Syr Daria, touching the left bank of that great river where it enters on the only reach in which the course is from south to north. On the right bank of the river in this part of its course lies a strip of fertile lowland about seventy miles wide, bounded on the east by the branching-out ends of a portion of the great Tian-Shan system of mountain ranges. These outliers of the Tian-Shan are the western Ala-tau and the Choktal-tau. Further east they merge in the main system which runs in a direction rather north of east with a general elevation of sixteen thousand feet and peaks of more than twenty thousand, and for many hundreds of miles separated the colonial cities of the ancient Chinese Empire, in its Sin-Kiang, or New Dominion, from the pastures of the northern nomads. The great Tian-Shan system is about two hundred miles wide from north to south on the seventy-fourth meridian, which is that on which the converging arcs of the Karakoram and Hindu Kush carry the boundary of the Indus basin and India to the most northerly point. The interval of about one hundred and seventy miles between the Karakoram and Tian-Shan on the seventy-fourth and seventy-fifth meridians is occupied by the western extremities of the lofty mountains of Tibet. Hereabouts, therefore, a number of very lofty ranges whose general direction is elsewhere more or less east-and-west,

bend to south and north so as to coalesce in one huge tangled knot of ranges which forms a continuous meridional barrier extending from the confines of India to the pastures of the northern nomads and providing a perfect military frontier between the dominions ruled from Chinese and from West Asian capitals respectively. The southern part, the Pamirs, was a commercial as well as military barrier, but further north there are passes practicable for commerce connecting Chinese Turkestan with the upper valleys of the Oxus and Syr Daria. These were also the commercial route between China and India, as they led to the Kabul river route.

It will be seen, therefore, that the fertile territories held by Cyrus and his successors north of the Kopet Dag and Parapamisus ranges were well protected on the west, north and east by deserts and by a tangled mass of lofty mountains, except at a gap of about seventy miles between the desert and mountains where the Syr Daria makes its northern turn, near latitude forty-one, on the meridian of sixty-eight degrees east of Greenwich. This great river when passing west of the Choktaltau range turns from its former south-westerly to a north-westerly course near Khojend, and the north-westerly reach of one hundred miles, where the river is some three hundred yards wide and at least eighteen feet deep, provided a good line of defence athwart the only convenient access to the West-Asian Empires from the good grazing lands of the nomadic tribes on the north. The importance of this gateway will be appreciated when we recall the great length of the northern frontier of the Achæmenian Empire. This comprised the northern coast of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, the south coast of the Caspian, the Kara-Kum and Kizil-Kum deserts and thence to the mountain wall of Chinese Turkestan, a total distance of about three thousand miles. The vulnerable part of the frontier line is still a political parting, being the boundary between the Russian provinces of Syr Daria and Samarkand.

The city of Samarkand, then called Maracanda, was the capital of Sogdiana, the Trans-Oxus province in the Empire of

the Achæmenidæ. Alexander founded Greek cities in the province, including *Alexandria ultima* on the Syr Daria which is placed on Keith Johnston's maps at the beginning of the north-western bend of the river near Khojend. Alexander made one military excursion across the river. The fertile land here would have been suitable for city civilization but had no natural protection against the nomads of the north, and the line of the river appears to mark the northern boundary of ancient cities.

About B.C. 255 Diodotus, the Greek satrap of Bactria, of which the provincial capital was Balkh, made himself independent of the Seleucidæ and conquered Sogdiana. The province was maintained under the Greek kings of Bactria as the outpost of Hellenism. About B.C. 159, however, a nomad people, the Yue-chi, who had come from the east, halted in the Ili valley, and afterwards, apparently, in the neighbourhood of the modern Tashkent; conquered Sogdiana, overthrew the Bactrian kingdom, and invaded the Punjab. From their capital at Peshawar their Kushan dynasty ruled as far as the Syr Daria. It will be noticed that, on the one hand the settled frontier had been broken through on the Syr Daria but that, on the other hand, the country between the Oxus and Syr Daria was still ruled from a southern capital. In 420 A.D. the White Huns obtained the mastery in Sogdiana, and in 560 A.D. the Turks. The latter nomads had their headquarters near Aulie-ata which has good access to the modern Tashkent by the gap between the western Ala-tau and the Kara-tau range (a long spur which runs north-west, parallel to, and not far from, the course of the Syr Daria). The modern railway connecting Moscow with Tashkent follows the strip between the mountains and the river, but in old times it was the eastern not the western communications from the Tashkent neighbourhood which were of importance. Around Aulie-ata, which is north of the Tian-Shan, there is permanent pasture. It is indeed characteristic of this part of Asia that the permanent pasture is close under the mountains, which bring down the rain. The

"piedmont" routes were therefore important to the nomadic communities, and it is significant of this that in the seventh century there was another Turkish capital at Urumtchi on the northern slope of the Tian-Shan near the eighty-eighth meridian.

The early dominion of the Turks between the Oxus and Syr Daria was perhaps a domination of the settled people by those of the Steppes, but the Arab General Kotaiba ibn Moslim put an end to it about 712 A.D. conquering the modern districts of Samarkand and Ferghana, and the neighbourhood of Tashkent on the right bank of the Syr Daria was also conquered and thereafter held from the south. The oasis of Khiva was also occupied by the Arabs. Arab geographers record numerous cities in the present Russian province of Ferghana in the tenth century, so that it is evident that only the actual ridge of mountains separated the settled colonies of the T'ang dynasty of China from the rich eastern outposts of the Eastern Caliphate.

Thus the north-western reach of the Syr Daria was held from the south as the frontier of city civilization, except during a few short intervals, from the time of Cyrus to that of Jenghiz Khan. This conqueror broke through by the Tashkent route, where runs the modern Russian railway which crosses the Syr Daria in the middle of the north-western reach. Samarkand, the capital of the former frontier province of West Asian civilization, situated at a height of two thousand two hundred feet, has an average temperature of fifty-five and a half degrees. Tashkent at an altitude of fourteen hundred feet has an average temperature of rather more than fifty-eight degrees and Aulie-ata fifty-one and a half. Kazalinsk, however, which stands not much above sea level lower down the Syr Daria near its entrance into the Sea of Aral, and well within the ancient dominions of nomadic tribes, has an average temperature of forty-six and a half degrees, so that we can infer that the average temperature of 48.5 degrees Fahrenheit occurs at a position on the Syr Daria below the point where the course changes from north-west to north,

and probably not very far from the western extremity of the sheltering Kara-tau range.

THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE OF THE ANCIENT EMPIRE OF CHINA

Sin-Kiang, the "New Dominion" of the ancient Empire of China, had its western limit in the maze of lofty mountains which forms a continuous barrier along the seventy-fourth and seventy-fifth meridians from the Karakoram mountains in the south to the Tian-Shan in the north. The commercial connection with Western Asia was by the passes west of Kashgar which traverse the water-parting between the Tarim basin and those of the Syr Daria and Oxus. The northern boundary was the long and lofty range of the Tian-Shan. The sites of ancient Chinese towns along the trade route to Kashgar have been explored by Sir Aurel Stein and the dates of their relics determined. For a distance of about one thousand miles they mostly lie along the southern slope of the Tian-Shan. Near the eastern limit of that range there was a northern outpost of the Chinese Empire, Turfan, a district centred on the remarkable Luk-chun depression which lies fifty-five feet below sea-level. Formerly a small independent state, it was constituted a Chinese province in or about the first century *Anno Domini*. The capital of the Han period has been visited by Sir Aurel Stein and there are the remains of cities of comparable antiquity on the northern flank of this part of the Tian-Shan near Guchen, which stands close to the intersection of the ninetieth meridian with the forty-fourth parallel. Generally, however, the nomadic tribes controlled the route along the pastured northern slope of the Tian-Shan, the Chinese that along the chain of cultivated oases on the warmer, but drier, southern slope. Dzungaria and the upper part of the Ili valley with its town of Kuldja, are marked on modern maps as included in Sin-Kiang, or Chinese Turkestan, the boundary of Mongolia being drawn north of Dzungaria, but in the Han period the Ili valley and almost the whole of Dzungaria were

outside the Chinese Empire. From the former the Huns attacked the Chinese trade route by way of Kara-shar and Korla.¹

The city of Kashgar is mentioned in the Han records of the first century before Christ, and later on it was a garrison town under the T'ang dynasty. This easternmost provincial capital of the ancient dynasties of China, standing at a height of four thousand three hundred feet, has an average temperature of fifty-five and a half degrees. The Russian town of Narynsk which lies beyond that part of the Tian-Shan which divides the basin of the Tarim from that of the Syr Daria and on the same meridian as Kashgar, standing at a height of six thousand nine hundred feet, has an average temperature of rather less than forty-four degrees. Vyernyi further north and a little to the east, standing at a height of two thousand four hundred feet, has an average temperature of forty-six and a half degrees. Thus we see that in the neighbourhood of the seventy-sixth meridian east of Greenwich the ancient cities south of the snow-clad mountains had a temperature well above the limit of 48·5° Fahrenheit and advanced positions in the territory of the nomads on the northern slopes of these mountains a temperature considerably below it.

The northern outpost of Sin-Kiang has, at the bottom of the Luk-chun depression, the temperature of fifty-five and a half degrees. This however is at more than fifty feet below sea level, and the ruins of ancient cities in this province stand at such altitudes that their average temperature must be several degrees lower. As already stated, the Huns used to attack the trading posts between Turfan and Kashgar by way of the passes leading south-east from the upper part of the Ili valley. Therefore it is desirable to compare the temperatures of the latter district with that of Turfan. Kuldja, the modern capital of the district, standing at a height of two thousand one hundred

¹ *A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia*, 1913-16, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. *Geographical Journal*, September, 1916, vol. 68, p. 209.

feet, has an average temperature of forty-eight and a half degrees.

Records of temperatures throughout the year are lacking for the line of trade between Turfan and the eastern extremity of Sin-Kiang, but the isothermal lines calculated as for sea level run nearly parallel to this route. Along the line of the Great Wall of China the records of annual temperature are also wanting, but Peking near the northern frontier of ancient China, sheltered however under the mountains and near sea level, has an average temperature of fifty-three degrees, and we know that temperature falls rapidly on the Mongolian plateau to the north-west. Karakoram is so far from Peking that it is not worth while to cite the great contrast in temperature between the two neighbourhoods, but fortunately we are able to compare the temperature of positions not far apart in the ancient borderland of settlement and nomadism east of the Great Wall.

THE FRONTIER OF ANCIENT CITIES EAST OF THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

I have already pointed out that the limits assigned to Southern Manchuria on the modern map are likely to lead to a misconception of the line of frontier of the ancient Empire of China at its north-eastern extremity, which in fact included the lowland part of the Liao valley. Similarly the inclusion of the Liao-tung peninsula in the province of Southern Manchuria obscures an essential fact in the historical geography of the ancient kingdom of Korea. Whereas the western extremity of modern Korea is the mouth of the Yalu where the Korean promontory begins on the fortieth parallel of latitude, the old kingdom included the Liao-tung peninsula. In fact the frontier of old Korea was the mountain line which runs from the east shore of the Gulf of Liao-tung to the southern shore of Peter the Great's Bay, the inlet where Vladivostok stands. The long ranges which run in this south-west to north-

east direction make Korea a peninsula as the Alps make Italy a peninsula. The two peninsulas are almost equal in area. Each has a broad continental part and a long and narrower promontory. But whilst in their physical geography the Italian and Korean peninsulas are much alike, their political development came from opposite directions and by different means of communication. Italy was civilized from the coast by peoples coming oversea from the south-east. The civilization of Korea began in the western corner which was entered overland by enterprising Chinese who came in from the Liao valley about 1100 B.C. The States first formed were in the continental part of the peninsula, and it was only after the lapse of some centuries that the new order was extended to the south of the promontory, and the whole peninsula, continental and promontorial, welded into a single kingdom. The line of its continental frontier is preserved to-day, at all events approximately, by the limit of the Korean language, which prevails up to the line of mountains to which I have already referred. The central part of this line is known as the Chang-pai-shan or Great White range, which culminates at eight thousand five hundred feet in Pei-shan. From the Chang-pai mountains the Yalu and Tumen rivers flow south-west and north-east through continental Korea, and the Sungari north-west to Kirin in central Manchuria. On the western slope of the range, there stands in a position strategically sheltered, the early capital of the Manchu dynasty which ultimately ruled China. That part of the old Korean dominion which lies west of the Yalu remained however within the kingdom (whose final capital was Seoul in the promontory) until the eleventh century *Anno Domini*, more than two thousand years after the traditional date of the first Chinese immigration. North-east of Pei-shan the Korean peninsula quickly narrows owing to the more northerly trend of the coast. The climate of the eastern coast of Asia becomes rapidly colder towards the north under the influence of a current from the icy seas which corresponds to the Labrador current off the east coast

of North America, and accordingly this north-eastern part of continental Korea is but sparsely inhabited.

The modern Niuchang in the Chinese military frontier province of the Liao valley has an average temperature of forty-seven, Mukden, the final capital of Manchuria, of forty-five degrees. Within the frontiers of the ancient kingdom of Korea the town of Port Arthur at the south-western extremity of the bordering mountains has an average temperature of fifty-one, Vladivostok, beyond the north-eastern extremity of the range a temperature of only forty degrees.

The isothermal line of 48.5° cuts the eastern coast of Korea in its continental part. Gensan in the northern part of the promontory on the east coast has a temperature of fifty-one. Recalling the fact that Mukden, west of the Chang-pai range has an average temperature of forty-five we see that the limit of the ancient kingdom of Korea must have been near where the average temperature of 48.5° is reached

THE RELATION OF THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF ANCIENT CITIES TO THE LIMIT OF CULTIVATION OF THE VINE

In the three great empires ruled in ancient times from the Yellow River, Tigris and Tiber the cultivation of the vine for wine making was carried into all the provinces of the northern frontier, and almost everywhere (except in the insular province of Britain) to the very boundary line. Wine was made from local vines in the present Low Countries, where its production has been discontinued in modern times for economic not climatic reasons. In Asia the limit of present vine cultivation runs from near the point where the isothermal 48.5° cuts the coast of Korea, includes the Liao province, nearly follows the frontier of China proper, bends northwards along the route thence to Turfan, and from there follows the frontier of Chinese Turkestan to the meridional mountain barrier in the West. Beyond this it crosses the Syr Daria near the

ancient boundary of Sogdiana.¹ On the north shore of the Black Sea and in Transylvania there is again a near accord between the limit of the old cities and the present limit of vine cultivation. The Kizil Kum and Kara Kum deserts the Caspian and the Caucasus, however, protected a considerable area of prairie country where the vine is now cultivated from the encroachment of the city people. Similarly the German and other tribes beyond the Rhine and the upper and middle Danube maintained themselves in some of the country where the vine is now cultivated.

THE CLIMATIC FRONTIER OF ROMAN BRITAIN AND OF OLD JAPAN

Lying off the western and eastern terminals of the trans-continental frontier of the ancient cities are the British and Japanese islands. The 'Roman province of Britain nearly coincided with modern England and Wales, with a border district more lightly held in the lowlands of Scotland. The vine was cultivated and wine made in the southern part of the province. The line of masonry fortification in the North terminated near Carlisle where the average temperature is 47.8° .

The Chinese type of civilization had begun to spread during ancient times in Honshiu, the principal island of Japan, where the present ruling race was already preponderant although they had not yet possessed themselves of the northern part of the island. Their colonization stopped short in that island, and did not extend to Hokkaido, which is even to-day very sparsely inhabited, and forms the refuge of the aboriginal Ainu. The course of the annual isotherm of 48.5° beyond the coast of Korea bends to the north-east, leaving the whole of Honshiu, the Japanese mainland, on the south. Aomori the northern port of Honshiu has an annual temperature of fifty, Sapporo in Hokkaido forty-four degrees. The fact that Japanese colonization should have halted short of the

¹ See Berghaus' Atlas, Plate 51.

isothermal line of 48.5° is the more remarkable because although their civilization was derived from the Continent they were politically independent.

Finally it may be noted that the north of Honshiu marks the limit of vine cultivation.

TABLE OF TEMPERATURES

In order to show the temperatures along the frontier of ancient cities in tabular form it is convenient to make a European and Asiatic division. In the former, meteorological stations are comparatively close together on the actual line. In the latter there are hardly any on the line, and the best approximation is obtained by recording the temperatures of the meteorological stations nearest the line on the north, mostly Russian. The mean of their temperatures is of course somewhat lower than that on the line itself.

IN EUROPE (on the frontier)		IN ASIA (north of the frontier)	
Carlisle	47.8° F.	Stavropol	47° F.
Utrecht	47.7°	Astrachan	50°
Cologne	50.2°	Kazalinsk	46.5°
Ratisbon	46.6°	Aulie-ata	51.5°
Vienna	48.5°	Narynsk. . . .	44°
Budapest	49.8°	Vernyi	46.5°
Debreczin	49.3°	Kuldja	48.5°
Odessa	48.5°	Mukden	45°
Mean	48.6°	Mean	47.4°

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN THE MARMORA REGION A.D. 330-1918

Constantine reviewed the respective advantages of several sites for an eastern capital before reaching his final choice. Sofia (Sardica) in the extreme north-west of Thrace was thought of, a position having good connection with the military provinces of the frontier. Consideration was also given to the site of Troy, consecrated by Hellenic traditions of more venerable antiquity than those of Rome itself. The continental commu-

nications from the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles go however southward near the coast, not across the centre of Asia Minor as do those from the Bosphorus. Too great a price would therefore have been paid for the prestige of tradition. The place selected by Constantine was so far similar to that chosen by Diocletian that it was a sea-port on a continental land route leading to the Bosphorus. Being in Thrace, however, there is a natural disposition to think of his new capital as a development of that province in preference to Bithynia, but in fact although the land communication of Constantinople is with Thrace the other affinities are more with Bithynia. A considerable tract of somewhat barren country separates Constantinople from Adrianople and the fertile district of that old Thracian capital, whereas the fertile lands and commercial cities of Bithynia lay close at hand. Bithynia moreover was more anciently Hellenic and Roman than the interior of Thrace.

Constantine concentrated the great resources of his monarchic authority upon the organization of a capital city of the first magnitude. The site chosen combined the following advantages. First, a position on the Bosphorus, which was preferable to the Dardanelles because it was a maritime gate of the Empire, and because, as already mentioned, the Asiatic communications are better. Of all sites on or near the Bosphorus Byzantium was the best for a capital, on account of the Golden Horn. This is a splendid harbour with an entrance a quarter of a mile across (sufficient for convenience but not too wide for defence by a boom) and spreading to half a mile, so that before the days of gunpowder shipping could lie protected at the southern quays. Here too was natural shelter from the strong current which makes the Bosphorus bad for harbourage. The triangular peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Marmora is of the right size for a great city, as cities then were, and the base of the peninsula, five miles across, is not too broad for a wall such as could be fully manned by the garrison appropriate to such a city. The

European shore of the Bosphorus is the eastern termination of a rectangular peninsula about thirty miles wide, across which the Anastasian wall crowning a line of heights less than forty miles from the city, assisted the field army to protect the continental approach to the Straits, the harbour, and the capital. In the latest siege of Constantinople, by the allied Balkan States in 1912 and 1913, the line held was that of the Chatalja depression which crosses the promontory a little to the east of the Anastasian heights. Here the streams flow in a southerly direction nearly parallel to those on the Asiatic side, though in the reverse sense.

West of the Anastasian Wall the principal river drainage is to the north coast of the Ægean, not to the Marmora. East of this line the geological formation is identical with that of the peninsula of Ismid in Asia, so that the Chatalja peninsula, if we may so name the promontory between the Anastasian wall and the Bosphorus, would belong to Asia not Europe, were it not for the channel of the Bosphorus.¹ Modern Constantinople indeed does stand partly in Asia,² across the Bosphorus, much as London has a "Surrey Side." The Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, being the western extremity of the long and narrow Ismid peninsula, is similarly defensible, an advantage which would not have been shared by a capital on the Dardanelles.

The name Byzantium gave place to Constantinople, but "Byzantine" remained as the adjective. The official description was "Constantinople, New Rome." The newness was cultural as well as geographical, for the city was the capital of Christendom, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin A.D. 330. The Empire only remained intact however for one hundred and forty-six years, until the recognition of Odoacer

¹ Cf. Reclus, *Universal Geography*, vol. I, pp. 98 and 99 and Fig. 31.

² "Constantinople . . . stands upon two continents, and is made up of three towns . . . Stambûl and Pera-Galata . . . and in Asia . . . Skutari" (*Murray's Handbook to Constantinople*, by Sir Charles Wilson, p. 5).

as King of Italy. During this time the Empire was sometimes ruled by a single sovereign, sometimes by two associated sovereigns. Under the former condition Constantinople was the only capital, so that it is clear that the main headquarters of the Roman Empire of the Mediterranean in the fourth and fifth centuries had passed from Italy to the Marmora provinces.

The rapid creation of a strong and splendid city with a secure and commodious port on the Bosphorus, did not prevent the overthrow of the Latin provinces, but there is sufficient evidence to show that the immense scale of the new organization, which was adequate for the control of the whole of the Marmora coast-provinces, saved the lands of the eastern Mediterranean from a like early conquest.

The character of this organization and the extent of the resources concentrated upon it, are indicated by the magnitude of the fortifications of the city and by the re-arrangement of the system of bridges and metalled roads in Asia Minor, mainly carried out by Justinian who reigned from 527 to 565 A.D. When the traffic of the Empire had been concentrated at Rome the roads of Asia Minor converged on Ephesus as stated already, whence traffic went by sea. Under Justinian the metalled roads and bridges of Asia Minor led to the Bosphorus. Such roads, provided with bridges, were more important than trunk railways in Great Britain or France, where there is also a vast network of carriage roads, being comparable in importance to the trunk railways in the centre and west of Canada and the United States, where the railway has come before the carriage road. The construction of new lines of metalled road under the Byzantine emperors made, indeed, a relatively greater change in trade routes than the building of a new trunk railroad at the present time, for the earlier trunk railroads are maintained whereas the older metalled roads were often allowed to get out of repair, so that they presently became mere rough tracks.

The old Byzantium was but an outlying Colony of the Greeks and not part of the Greek homelands, which were

Greece proper, the western shore of Asia Minor and the Ægean islands. But the great city of Constantinople, with its fine harbour of the Golden Horn, was accessible for the immense number of small vessels which then, as now, maintained communication throughout these waters, so that as a commercial organization Constantinople profited both by the Roman predilection for road construction and bridge building and the Greek habit and aptitude of the sea. It was the commercial success of Constantinople which enabled the Byzantine Government to maintain their status as a Great Power even when the frontiers were receding. The crowd of half-civilized neighbours, whose new kingdoms replaced the associated Western half of the Empire received the products of Asia from the *entrepôt* of Constantinople. Moreover the rapid extension of agriculture in the lands beyond the Rhine and Danube greatly improved the position of Constantinople on the commercial map, since it is on the route to the Asiatic centres of production. The commercial advantages were especially great while the routes to Asia north of the Caspian remained undeveloped. Moreover the industrial advantages which accrued to the Byzantine Empire by the new order of things in western and central Europe was not confined to the profits of middlemen in the carrying trade, for Constantinople became a great centre of skilled manufacture for Europe. Here, for instance, gold- and silver-smiths made jewelry and ornamental work from the precious metals and gems of Asia, and exchanged these for furs and other European products. Such was the advantage of the monopoly of craftsmanship that the Byzantines did not have to expend their time in carrying goods, but held market in their own city. The development of the old Russian kingdom, first organized by Scandinavian princes whose chief capital was Kiev, was taken full advantage of by the Byzantines, for, as geographers have sometimes said, the Bosphorus must be regarded as the common mouth of the rivers Dniester, Dnieper and Don.

These industrial advantages partook largely of the character of monopoly, and could not have been retained by the Byzantines century after century but for the defensive excellence of their site, the strength of its fortifications, and the knowledge of mechanical arts of warfare as practised by the Romans. They had even some knowledge of chemical warfare as is shown by their use of "Greek fire." In the defence of their city they were also well served by the course of events which followed the loss of the associated western half of the original Roman Empire. The Teutonic peoples from the fifth to, certainly, the eleventh century were extraordinarily unskilled in siege-craft, and the walls of Constantinople were held against all assaults until the Latin conquest in 1204, which marks the end of the Byzantine Empire as a Great Power.

The unique advantage of the site for defence was never more remarkably shown than in one of the earliest of its many sieges when in 627 A.D. the Avars attacked from the west in alliance with the Sassanian king of Persia from the east, but the Byzantine navy was able to prevent any effective co-operation of their forces.

As in the Byzantine period the geographical character of the Marmora provinces as a district dominating a continental and maritime Crossways was exploited commercially, so in the succeeding Ottoman period it was exploited strategically for conquest by land and sea.

The general direction of the mountain ranges in Western Asia Minor is East-and-West, a circumstance which is also recorded in the lofty promontories which project westward from the Asiatic shores of both the Marmora and the Ægean. But whereas on the Asiatic slope of the Ægean the rivers follow generally the valleys between the mountain ranges, so that the natural ways run directly east to the plateau country, in the Asiatic background of the Marmora as well as in that of the Black Sea, the rivers flow nearly south and north, (more exactly from rather west of south to rather east of north) cutting through the mountain ranges nearly at right

angles. The Mysian Olympus, the highest part of the east-and-west Olympian ranges, lies between the Sakharía, flowing northwards to the Black Sea, and the Rhyndacus, escaping northwards to the Marmora. South of the Mysian Olympus there is a considerable tract of obstructive mountainous country in the upper basin of the Rhyndacus. Thus there has never been much direct communication due east from the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles to the plateau of Asia Minor, the route being southward and coastwise *viâ* Pergamum. Even from that part of the coast of Mysia which is on the open waters of the Marmora (east of the Dardanelles) the routes run southward (and slightly to the west) as is now exemplified in the railway which connects the port of Panderma with Smyrna.

From the Bithynian coast there is a west-and-east valley connecting Nicomedia with the great north-to-south route of the lower Sakharía. Similar valleys connect the lower Sakharía with Nicæa, Brusa and ports on the Bithynian coast. The upper Sakharía comes down from the east, but the southerly route up the lower Sakharía is continued by a left bank tributary whose valley leads towards the gap in the Olympian ranges by which Eskishehr, the ancient Dorylæum, is reached where, at an altitude of two thousand six hundred feet, the plateau of Asia Minor lies open.

Thus Eskishehr is on the southern side of a gap in the long east-and-west mountain chain of which the Mysian and Galatian Olympus are conspicuous parts, and is the best junction of natural communications between the plateau of Asia Minor and the eastern half of the Asiatic coast of the Marmora (lying in Bithynia and north of Olympus) which is more fertile as well as nearer to Constantinople than the western half (which lies in Mysia). The railway from the plateau of Asia Minor follows the route above described from Eskishehr to Ismid (Nicomedia) and thence to Haidar Pacha on the Bosphorus. Eskishehr (or Dorylæum), was the great junction of the metalled roads leading across Asia Minor to Constan-

tinople in the Byzantine period, and the place of assembly for military contingents when the Emperors set out for campaigns against the Saracens. To-day it is one of the chief railway junctions in Asia Minor. Eastward goes the railway to Angora. South westward up the valley of the Pursak the rail runs by Kutaia to Afium Karahissar where it is met by the second line from the Mediterranean (the Smyrna line) the united track then going eastwards to Konia, or Iconium, and thence to Syria by the Cilician Gates.

In 1071 A.D. the Seljukian Turks, nomadic horsemen from central Asia, defeated the Byzantine forces near Angora. They captured Dorylæum c. 1074, and Nicæa c 1080. The latter city then became the capital of the two first Seljuk Sultans of Rûm but, Latin Christendom throwing its weight into the struggle, they were expelled by the First Crusade, and were subsequently defeated in a severe action at Eskishehr (Dorylæum). Ultimately Iconium became the fixed capital of the Seljuk Sultan of Rûm.

In 1204 Constantinople was taken by the Latin Crusaders. Between 1204 and 1261 the Latin "*Imperium Constantinopolitanum*" comprised Thrace, (including Adrianople) and both shores of the Marmora. The Byzantine dynasty, expelled from Constantinople, had its capital at Nicæa, and the "Empire of Nicæa" at first included Eskishehr and Kutaia, the district anciently called *Phrygia Epictetus*, by which the Emperors maintained connection with their ports on the Ægean south of the gulf of Edremid. It was the naval forces of the Ægean cities which ultimately enabled the Emperors of Nicæa to dominate the Dardanelles and so secure a footing in Europe and regain Constantinople. The policy of the Venetians in promoting the Latin conquest of Constantinople was dictated by the desire to break its commercial monopoly, and, particularly, to open up the Black Sea to Venetian trade and colonization. When the Byzantine Emperors of Nicæa regained Thrace the resources of the province had been impaired and the commercial organization of the capital almost ruined.

Hence the Latin attack on Constantinople gave the Seljuk Sultans of Rûm, now capitalled at Iconium, another opportunity of attempting the conquest of the Marmora provinces, of which they availed themselves. The line of operation, as before, was by way of Eskishehr towards the Bithynian coast.

The Seljuk Empire of Rûm was on a clan basis, each several natural region of Asia Minor being ruled by a Turkish clan under its hereditary chief, subject to the overlordship of the Sultan at Iconium. In the time of Sultan Ala-ed-din so much as had been won from the Byzantines in Bithynia north of the pass of Eskishehr was ruled by Ertoghrul, chief of a tribe of Turks who, unlike the others, had not been long domiciled in the country, having only arrived a few years before from central Asia. They were a band of stubborn irreconcilables who would not endure the yoke of Jenghiz Khan. The names of the Turkish chieftains have been given to their districts and the "Sanjak Ertoghrul" is an administrative district of modern Anatolia. Its boundaries are clearly shown in V. Cuinet's *La Turquie d'Asie*, where its area is given as three thousand two hundred square miles. The capital of Ertoghrul's principality in 1258 A.D. was Sugut, about twenty-six miles north-west of Eskishehr on the northern side of the Olympian ranges at an elevation of three thousand one hundred feet. It stands in a fertile and healthy district and at a junction of roads to Nicæa and Brusa. Eskishehr and Sugut occupy somewhat analogous positions north and south of the passage through the mountains traversed by the old Byzantine military road and the present Bagdad railway.

Eskishehr itself was also assigned by the Sultan to Ertoghrul at a later date, so that his tribe controlled both entrance and exit of the important pass between the plateau of central Anatolia and the Bithynian shore.

To this principality Osman, son of Ertoghrul, succeeded in 1288. Pushing towards the coast he captured the Byzantine fortress of Keupri-hissar c. 1299, and then moved his capital forwards and downwards to a site about six miles further west,

ten miles from Nicæa and rather more than thirty from Brusa, which received the name Yenishehr (Newtown).

The Seljukian Empire of Rûm, that is to say the leadership of the Turkish tribal principalities of Asia Minor by the dynasty seated at Iconium, ceased c. 1307, so that Osman became an independent ruler, as did some nine other Turkish chieftains who ruled in the natural regions of Asia Minor. Yenishehr consequently was now the capital of a sovereign State, and is therefore the first capital of the Ottoman Empire. Osman was succeeded in 1326 by his son Orkhan who took Brusa, which had undergone a siege of many years, in 1327 and at once advanced his capital to this city, so advantageously situated in a district of remarkable fertility under the lofty Mysian Olympus. It is less than twenty miles from the port of Mudania, on the Gulf of Geumlek (with which it is now connected by railway) and at an altitude of about four hundred feet. A beginning was now made in the organization of a naval force on the Sea of Marmora. Nicomedia and Nicæa, the other great cities of the Asiatic bridge-head of the Byzantines, underwent a long investment. The former surrendered to Orkhan in 1328 the latter in 1330. Ten years later Orkhan had conquered the neighbouring Turkish principality of Karasi, corresponding roughly to ancient Mysia, which included the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. It is important to note that its capital was Bergama, the ancient Pergamum (once the capital of a powerful state in the time of Alexander's Successors) and that the maritime communication of this city is with the Ægean, east of the island of Mitylene not with the Dardanelles or the Marmora. The obstructive switch-back section of the country's surface on the direct line from the Dardanelles to the interior plateau has been already mentioned. Now in possession of the Mysian shore, in addition to agricultural resources and good naval bases provided by his Bithynian possessions, Orkhan in 1357 captured Gallipoli in the peninsula of that name, about eight miles from the Isthmus of Bulair. From this time the progress of Ottoman conquest in the Balkan

peninsula was very rapid. Mohammed I, having captured Philippopolis in 1364, advanced his capital in 1367 from Brusa to Adrianople, which remained the capital until 1453. This city stands at the junction of valleys from north and west with the great N.W. diagonal depression leading across the Balkan peninsula.

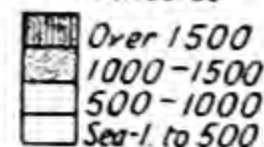
So far in the history of the Ottomans we see the Asiatic coast-provinces of the Marmora serving as the base for conquests from a Christian Power capitalled on the European shore. This is the first period, from the foundation of the Empire by Osman c. 1307 to the loss of almost all its Asiatic possessions after the defeat of Sultan Bajazet, or Bayezid, by Timur the Tartar at Angora in 1402. Bayezid had extended his imperial rule over Turkish principalities in Asia Minor as well as over Christian kingdoms in the Balkan peninsula. Dispossessed Turkish princes sought the court of Timur the Tartar. Himself a crusading Moslem, Timur sympathized with the policy of Bayezid as far as it related to the imposition of Ottoman rule over Christian potentates, and acknowledged his sovereignty of the district (mainly in Bithynia) which in the days of the Sultanate of Rûm had been named Sultanöni and has since been sometimes known by that name and sometimes as Ertoghrul from the name of its first "Marquis." The war between Timur and Bayezid was fought on the issue of Ottoman rule in Asia Minor outside this original land of the dynasty, and in the decisive defeat of the Ottomans near Angora Bayezid's levies from the districts of Aidin, Sarukhan and Menteshé (called after the original Seljuk chieftains, and roughly corresponding to Mæonia, Lydia and Caria) went over to their own chiefs, who were in Timur's camp. After Bayezid's death the succession to the Bithynian and European possessions which remained to his family was disputed between two sons, one of whom made his capital in Adrianople the other at Brusa. The former had been the capital of Bayezid himself, but it was Mohammed I, the son first capitalled at Brusa, who succeeded in establishing his authority over both parts of the

dominion, which suggests that Bithynia was still the main seat of native power, although Mohammed finally ruled from Adrianople. This Mohammed, surnamed the Restorer, is reckoned the second founder of the Ottoman Empire. He conquered largely in Asia Minor, where his base of operations was the district marked out by the points Brusa, Nicomedia, Nicæa, Sugut and Eskishehr, which had formerly been the bridge-head position of the Byzantine Empire in their struggle with the Seljuks. It was, however, not until the time of Mohammed II (1451-1481) that the principality of Karamania, with the old Seljuk capital of Iconium, was finally incorporated in the Ottoman dominions. This, the second, Mohammed is surnamed the conqueror, for he it was who stormed Constantinople in 1453 and to this city the capital was at once transferred from Adrianople. It may well escape observation that the Ottoman pre-eminence was as much favoured by the protective frontiers on the side of the kindred but rival tribes as by the opportunities for attack on the Christian front. That such a result was utterly unforeseen is indicated in the very name *Sultanōni* (Sultan's frontier) for their district. The conquests of the Ottomans after the occupation of Constantinople continued to be towards the east as well as towards the west, but there were also acquisitions on the north shore of the Black Sea and on the African shore of the western Mediterranean which were largely due to naval power, which was much increased by the possession of Constantinople.

In reviewing the capital cities which owe their importance to relation with the sea of Marmora, and which have been the headquarters of a Great Power, or of a dynasty which has at some time attained that status, I may in the first place point out that after Nicomedia, the residence of Diocletian, had been replaced by Constantinople it never regained imperial status, although it remained an important town. It was too near Constantinople to be a rival capital. Nicæa on the other hand was the rival capital in the days of the Latin dominion of Constantinople. Sugut and Yenishehr were temporary

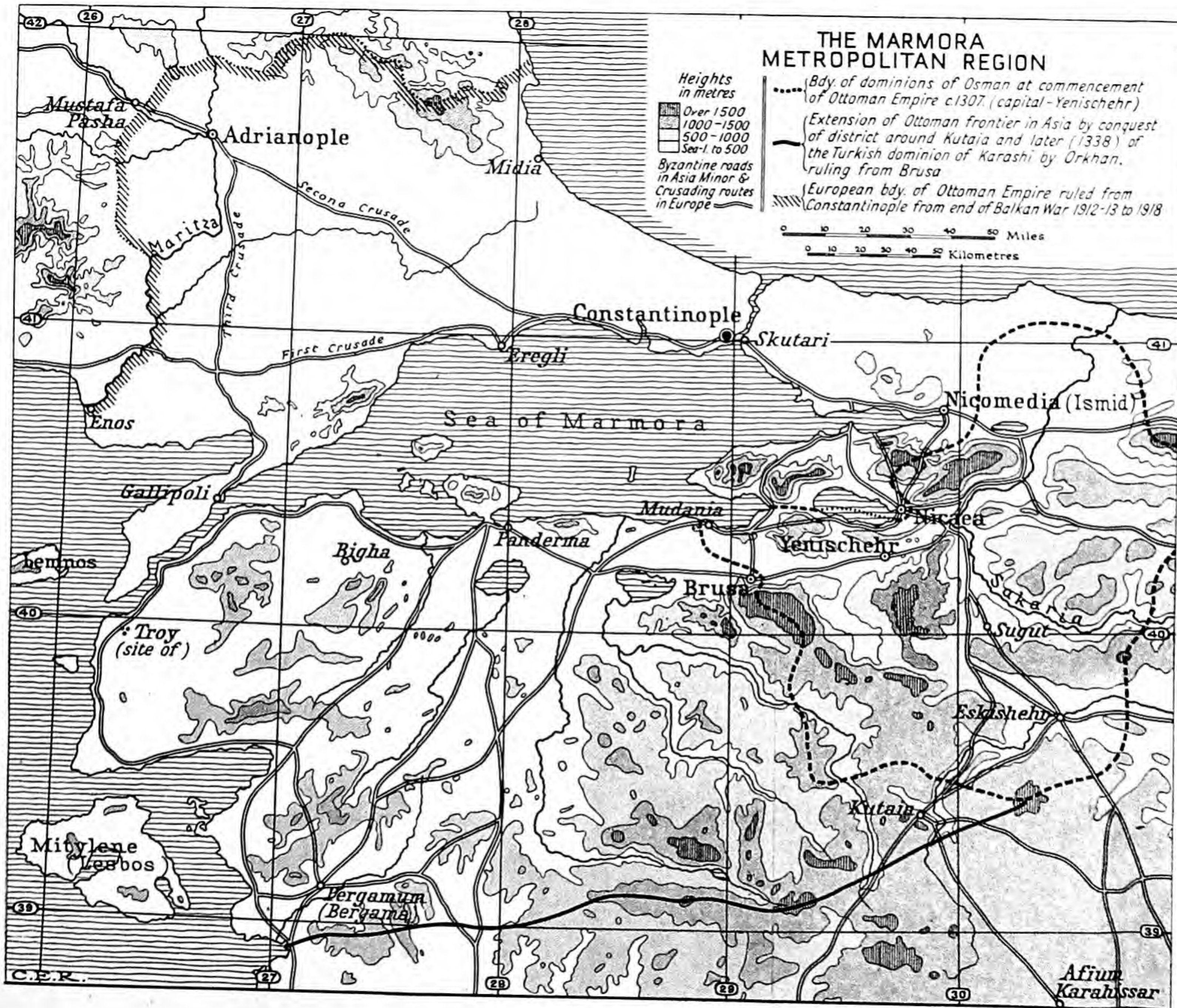
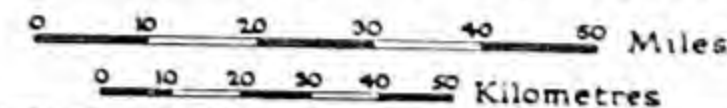
THE MARMORA METROPOLITAN REGION

Heights
in metres



Byzantine roads
in Asia Minor &
Crusading routes
in Europe

- (Bdy. of dominions of Osman at commencement of Ottoman Empire c.1307. (capital - Yenischehr))
- (Extension of Ottoman frontier in Asia by conquest of district around Kutaja and later (1338) of the Turkish dominion of Karashi by Orkhan, ruling from Brusa)
- (European bdy. of Ottoman Empire ruled from Constantinople from end of Balkan War 1912-13 to 1918)



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headquarters during a long series of offensive campaigns, leading up to the establishment of Brusa as a true political capital of an expanding power, disputing with Constantinople the control of the Marmora and its approaches. Adrianople was a position dominating the European land-approach to Constantinople and the Marmora shores, and was abandoned as political headquarters when Constantinople, with its control of both sea and land routes, became available.

Towns which serve to delimit the Marmora Metropolitan Region are, Constantinople near the entrance from the Black Sea, Gallipoli near that from the Mediterranean, Adrianople at the principal European, Eskishehr at the principal Asiatic entrance. Adrianople is distant about one hundred and thirty, Eskishehr one hundred and twenty miles from Constantinople, and the direct distance from Adrianople to Eskishehr is about two hundred and fifty miles.

The Sea of Marmora, with its indented coast and numerous islands, partakes of the *Ægean* character, which is entirely different from that of the inhospitable Black Sea. It is, in fact, an outlier of the *Ægean*, and the Golden Horn is therefore the extreme northern harbour of the maritime region which is the homeland of the Greek-speaking people.

East of the Marmora, readily accessible from Constantinople, lies Asia Minor, largely composed of open table land which forms the outlier of those extensive countries of Asia which are the historic homes of national communities of nomadic horsemen. At the present time Asia Minor figures on the linguistic map as the principal home of the Osmanli language.

West of the Thracian isthmus (the line from Enos to Midia) and of its outpost Adrianople, lies the interior of the Balkan peninsula, a large region cut up by mountain barriers into districts isolated from one another but not as a whole protected from Continental Europe by any barrier comparable to those which shut off Italy and Spain. Consequently the Balkan peninsula is neither suitable (as the plain of Hungary) as an outlying district for the horsemen of Asia,

nor for the growth of a large and homogeneous European nationality. On the linguistic map of to-day the region is in fact much subdivided.

During the Byzantine Empire the homes of the successive dynasties were more often Anatolian than Balkan, so that on the whole the Marmora capitals have been successively northern and western outliers of their imperial communities from A.D. 476 to A.D. 1918.

Constantinople is the first of the Great Capitals we have had to consider which is a coast port. The metropolitan district of both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires was a discontinuous land, necessitating communication by ship. Moreover it was not until modern times that the range of artillery was sufficient for shore batteries to prevent the passage of hostile ships through the Straits. Therefore in thinking of the historical geography of Constantinople we must consider the shores of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles as important parts of the maritime frontier, not as shores of a *mare clausum*. When, therefore, we notice that Constantinople has always been preferred to a capital near either the eastern or western continental frontier, we must take into account the fact that it was the maritime, not the continental, approaches from foreign countries which flanked the essential communications of the Empire. Hence Constantinople is not withdrawn from the frontier as an inland city would be if occupying so central a position.

In modern times the Marmora region has been coveted both by Russia and Germany. To the former it would have provided maritime access to the Mediterranean free from foreign control. This was important owing to two sets of physical conditions, first the great area of fertile country in Russian occupation which drains to the Black Sea, and secondly the great area of fertile country (comprising much of the "Black-Earth" wheat belt) lying to the east which has no river access to ice-free waters and for which therefore the Bosphorus and Dardanelles are a valuable outlet.

By the Germans, who had missed the golden opportunity of oversea expansion which followed the voyages of Vasco de Gama and Columbus, and had their maritime routes to Asia closely flanked by the navy of an insular Power on whom their army could not exercise direct pressure, the Marmora region was coveted as the essential link in a transcontinental railway route between the North Sea and the Indian Ocean. For their commerce and strategy as a continental military power, the control of the Marmora crossings would have been what the control of the Suez Canal passage is to the commerce and strategy of the British. Both the Russian and German projects for exploiting the Marmora region were shattered in the Great War.

Even if the Russian or the German project had succeeded, Constantinople could not have become the capital of either Empire, for it is separated from the habitations of their dominant communities by the territories of several nations, so that politically the Marmora region would not have become again the metropolitan district of a Great Power. It is possible however that the day may come when it will again be the commercial capital of the Eastern Mediterranean, a result to which its position as the southern port of the great wheat belt of European and Asiatic Russia would greatly contribute.

CHAPTER IV

THE CAPITALS OF FRANCE

THE FIRST INSTITUTION OF PARIS AS A CAPITAL

IN the reign of Diocletian at the end of the third century of the Christian era the Romans still held the left bank of the Rhine below the Main. The right bank throughout this reach of the river was held by the Franks. Theirs was a new name first recorded about the middle of the century when they were defeated by Aurelian in the neighbourhood of Mainz. The ground which they occupied was more extensive than that allotted by Tacitus, writing in the first century, to individual German tribes. Larger political groupings had, in fact, come into existence in Germany, accompanying as is reasonably thought a general advance in military and industrial arts. The Franks were one of these groups of many communities under separate chiefs or kings, who were accustomed to act in concert in matters of foreign policy and in their relations with other groups. One of these was formed by the Alemanns who not only held the right bank of the Rhine between the Main and the Lake of Constance but had already encroached on the Roman territory on the left bank and were in occupation as far as the Vosges.

The country occupied by the Franks was partly the high ground between the Main and the south-west to north-east escarpment of ancient rock marked by the Rothaar and Harz mountains, and partly the low-lying plain which extends on the right bank of the Rhine from the Ruhr to the limit of land

which is above the level of tidal high water. The plain to the east of the Franks as far as the Elbe was occupied by one of the newer and larger German groupings known as the Saxons, a name occurring in the description of Tacitus but now extended beyond its original application. Along the coast to the north, and probably the west, of the lowland Franks were the Frisians, a sea-faring people who had more in common with those Saxons who dwelt by the sea than with the Franks.

By the middle of the fourth century we find a Frank community established in the Belgian plain south of the sandy Campine and the marshy Peel, occupying the fertile district which extends from the line of the Scheldt on the north and west to the edge of the Meuse valley on the south and east. They appear to have crossed the Rhine and Meuse where these rivers flow westwards between Emmerich and the Delta, so reaching their place of settlement from the north, the present Holland, not from the east, the present Rhenish Prussia. Their migration is ascribed to the hostile pressure of the Saxons. The settlers in the Belgian plain, known as the Salian Franks, were organized under several chiefs or kings. The result of their armed conflict with the Romans was a compromise, the new comers being admitted as *fœderati*, acknowledging their new country to be part of the Roman Empire but retaining their religion. Early in the fifth century, however, the Romans no longer maintained the line of the Rhine in its Western course between Emmerich and the sea but made their Netherland frontier the chain of fortified places along the great paved road which ran from Bavay (between Valenciennes and Maubeuge) to Maastricht, following the direction of the Sambre and Meuse about ten miles from their left bank. At this time Chlodio was king of an important tribe of Salian Franks. We have the name of his capital, Dispargum, from Gregory of Tours. Dr. Theodor Menke¹ considers that this is probably the village of Duysbourg which lies nine miles south-east of

¹ Spruner-Menke, *Historical Atlas*, letterpress, p. 33.

Brussels and the same distance north-east of Waterloo, on the outskirts of the forest of Soignies.¹ Whether this identification of name can be established or not there are two lines of evidence which concur in indicating a small tract in this neighbourhood as the metropolitan district of the Salian Franks at the time of Chlodio's accession, which is given as 427 A.D. The first line of evidence is provided by the record of Chlodio's conquests, the second by the present boundary between the Flemish and Walloon languages. About 431 Chlodio broke through the Bavay-Maastricht line of fortified posts, conquered the country as far as the Somme, and advanced the seat of his capital to Tournai.

The evidence of language is significant because Flemish is, the philologists tell us, derived from the low Franconian form of German. Walloon, on the other hand, is a Latin tongue. In the land which the Roman government had latterly abandoned to the heathen Salians even the Latin place-names had disappeared. The Franks had been settled here for about a hundred years. Their conquests after 431 A.D. were more rapid, and in the course of another sixty-five years were followed by the adoption of Christianity. On both counts, therefore, the effect of their conquests on the language of the conquered country would be much less marked than in the earlier period. The present boundary between the Flemish and Latin languages runs due east-and-west from a point on the Meuse near Visé (close to the meeting of the German, Belgian and Dutch frontiers, as in 1914) to the vicinity of St. Omer, and thence north-west to the coast between Calais and Gravelines. The village of Duysbourg lies a little to the north of the line, the city of Tournai about ten miles south of it.

The date 431 A.D. is two years before the accession of Attila to the sovereignty of the Huns. In 451 was fought the great battle of Châlons in which the Salians sided with the Roman

¹ See for instance Map North-West Europe 1 : 250,000 Sheet I, War Office, Aug. 1914.

provincials. Attila retired from Gaul, his death followed in 453, and the power of the Huns in Europe soon dwindled. There is, however, no doubt that between 433 and 451, and for a few years after the latter date, the Huns exercised a strong hostile pressure on the German tribes east of the Rhine. This is the period when the Ripuarian Franks crossed the river. The important Roman station of Cologne, after changing hands more than once, remained with the Ripuarians from 463 A.D. onwards and they then established themselves as an independent people in the country between the Rhine and Meuse as far south as the line Mainz, Treves and Verdun. South of this line were the Alamannians. The frontier between these Franks and the Roman provincials cannot have been far from the eastern boundary of the modern Departments of Aube, Marne and Ardennes.

In 476 A.D. the Emperor at Constantinople acknowledged Odoacer as king of Italy and relinquished the effort to maintain authority in the Latin provinces. At this date, which is reckoned as marking the end of Ancient History, there was still an important part of Gaul where the Latin-speaking provincials maintained their independence. This was the Somme basin, the Seine basin, and both banks of the Loire from the point where the river emerges on the plain. The peninsula of Brittany was not included. Although apparently complex when described thus in terms of relief it has really a physical unity, being a single basin of inward-dipping strata, known geologically as the Paris basin, with tertiary deposits in the low-lying centre surrounded by an inner ring of Chalk heights and an outer ring of Jurassic heights. The natural advantages of the Paris basin as a Storehouse of agricultural wealth are very great. The south-east and south-west parts are splendid vineyards, the centre a fine wheatfield, and the proximity of the Atlantic makes part of the district a good cattle country. Thus it produces Mediterranean products which attracted the men of Italy and has also the advantages of deep soil and adequate rainfall which secure northern Europe

against a rapid decline of fertility such as early affected Italy. I think we may safely connect the survival of independent Roman provincialism in the Paris basin with this fertility, and the Latin character imparted to the West Frankish kingdom and the succeeding kingdom of France with the civilized and vigorous life of the provincials in this part of Gaul. Historically the Paris basin is the metropolitan part of France. Throughout the Paris basin Syagrius ruled as *rex Romanorum*, not at the central town of Paris but in Soissons towards the corner of the two Frankish frontiers. Five years after the fall of the Western Empire, that is in 481 A.D., Clovis succeeded his father Childeric as king of the Sicambrian tribe of Salian Franks, Tournai on the Scheldt being then his capital. He attacked Syagrius whom he decisively defeated in 486 at Soissons and made himself master of his whole kingdom, which, as I have said, extended to the Loire. Clovis, having advanced his frontier from the Somme to the Loire, moved his capital forward from Tournai on the Scheldt to Soissons on the Aisne, a navigable tributary of the Seine. The new capital lies between eighty and ninety miles from Tournai, nearly due south, not far off the direct line for the crossings of the Seine and Loire at Paris and Orleans, and commanding a gap in the chalk downs. The direct distance from Soissons to Orleans is one hundred and twenty miles.

The next conquest of Clovis was of the Alamannian district around Worms and Speyer on both banks of the Rhine. This could only be reached through Ripuarian territory, and the circumstance points therefore to the conclusion, attested also by the general course of events, that Clovis not only led the Salian Franks but that the Ripuarians to a great extent followed his lead, although this must not be taken to imply any inferiority of Ripuarians in relation to Salians.

In the year 496 A.D. Clovis and thousands of the Franks entered the Christian Church, adhering moreover to the orthodox catholic form which was that of the Latin-speaking provincials in the dominions of Clovis and in those of the

Burgundian and Visigothic kingdoms in Gaul. The Teuton immigrants who ruled those kingdoms were on the contrary of the Arian persuasion. Consequently Clovis was accepted as the supporter of the proper order of things by the Gallic clergy, the only body of public servants who had retained their vigour among the Roman provincials. This important step on the part of Clovis was of great assistance in his conquest and absorption of the country from the Loire to the Pyrenees which was the northern part of the Visigothic Kingdom. The decisive battle was fought in 507 A.D. near Poitiers, the Ripuarians forming part of the army. Clovis having now advanced his frontier from the Loire to the Pyrenees moved his headquarters forwards in conformity thereto, making his capital at Paris, where the *Ile de la Cité* favours the crossing of the Seine, only seventy miles from Orleans where the Loire is crossed at its northern bend.

The basin of the Scheldt was the principal part of the first seat of power of the Salian Franks, while that of the Garonne was the central part of the kingdom of the Visigoths in Gaul. Between the latter and the basin of the Scheldt lies the Paris basin, which at the accession of Clovis to his Salian kingdom was the seat of that State which last represented Roman provincialism in Gaul. The advance of the Salian capital to successive positions in this adjoining State, but not beyond it, is therefore in accordance with the rule in the political geography of imperial capitals of which the foundation of Susa by Darius provides so conspicuous an example. I shall not pause here to examine in detail the permanent geographical advantages of the site of Paris. This will be done later. At present we are in the stage, which lasted three centuries, when the Franks were shifting their capital in conformity with the advance of their frontier, which was to the south-west at the beginning of the sixth and to the north-east at the end of the eighth century.

In the ninth and tenth centuries we arrive at the time when the inherent and permanent advantages of the Tertiary lowland

centre of the Paris basin as a Storehouse and Crossways finally reasserted themselves, and the district of Paris and Orleans became the nucleus from which the centralized kingdom of France grew to approximately the same limits as the feudal kingship of the West Franks.

After the death of Clovis the kingdom of Burgundy, comprising the valley of the Saône and of the Rhone below their junction, was added to the dominion of the Franks in 534 A.D., and that of the Alamanns, which extended to the river Lech in the east and the Alps on the south, a few years later. The Hessian Franks on the highland east of the middle Rhine were also brought to accept the same sovereignty, and thus the Frankish empire reached nearly the greatest extension which it attained until after the accession of Charlemagne in 768 A.D.

During the periods when the western and eastern parts, where the mass of the people spoke respectively a Latin and Teutonic language, were administered by different members of the Merovingian dynasty, Metz was usually capital of the latter, or Austrasian, division and Paris of the Western; but when the whole was under one ruler whether Merovingian king, Mayor of the Palace, or the first Carolingian king, Paris was the main headquarters. Here Charles Martel was buried in 741, and his son Pippin the Short did not abandon the city as a residence. He was succeeded by Charlemagne.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

The power of the Carolingian family had been originally associated with the Mayoralty of the Austrasian part of the dominion where their personal property lay, and Charlemagne's change of capital from Paris to Aix-la-Chapelle has been ascribed as due to an inclination for residence near his patrimony and within those early Gallic settlements of the Franks which were Frankish not merely in government but in speech. It is, however, important to notice on the other hand that Charles Martel, of the same house, and therefore also an easterner, did not make his final headquarters in the east. His

great conflict was with the Saracens, and his decisive victory over them was won at Tours, not far from the site of the victory which Clovis gained over the Aquitanian Visigoths. It was after this victory that Clovis made Paris his capital. Similarly in 732 A.D. when the battle of Tours was fought, Paris was still suitable as the capital of an Empire threatened from the direction of Aquitaine.

Again, it has been said that in placing his capital in Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne chose a place which connected France and Germany, but this is a misconception of the political geography of his dominions at the date of his accession, for he had but a very small holding in the great northern plain east of the Rhine, which was the dominion of the heathen Saxons. Consequently at the time of Charlemagne's accession Aix-la-Chapelle was not the best connecting position either between the Latin-speaking and German-speaking districts of his empire or between his provinces east and west of the Rhine. For the former the old Austrasian capital Metz was a connecting position for the Ripuarian part, some place not far from Tournai a connecting position for the Salian or Netherland portion. As a connecting position between Frankish dominions east and west of the Rhine Mainz was suitable.

In parenthesis I must point out here the important fact, which the maps of Spruner and Menke illustrate, that the country settled by the heathen Salians had joined up with the contiguous settlement of the Ripuarians and dissociated itself from the adjoining country of the Latin-speaking people, although the latter was the conquest of the Salian king Clovis.

Not the connection of districts within the Empire but of the Empire and a hostile country made Aix-la-Chapelle suitable for the capital of Charlemagne, and unsuitable for a capital after the incorporation of that hostile but kindred country. Aix was Charlemagne's main headquarters throughout the forty-three years of his undivided rule from 771 to 814 A.D. in which he so greatly extended the boundary of the Frankish dominions. In nothing is the greatness of Charlemagne more

evident than in his firm adherence to the great principles of military strategy in face of political temptations. It has been remarked by modern writers on strategy that its great principles are simple and easily understood. How then, it may be asked, are they so frequently contradicted in action? The answer is not far to seek. The principles of strategy are a rule of conduct not difficult to understand but hard to act up to. Their practice calls for self-denial, and on the part of Sovereigns that self-denial involves the abandonment of social ambitions, a form of temptation to which no members of society are more exposed. So unusual and so self-denying was the military policy of Charlemagne that, as Gibbon remarks, "we may reasonably be surprised" at "the choice of his enemies." The passage runs as follows ". . . in the choice of his enemies, "we may reasonably be surprised that he so often preferred "the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The three "and thirty campaigns laboriously consumed in the woods and "morasses of Germany would have sufficed to assert the "amplitude of his title by the expulsion of the Greeks from "Italy and the Saracens from Spain." ¹

The main objective of Charlemagne's foreign policy was the political and religious subjugation of the continental Saxons, who still remain heathen. The great growth of Frankish dominion to the south-west and south-east since the accession of Clovis three hundred years before is apt to draw our attention away from the unsatisfactory state of Frankish affairs on the north and north-east. The great group of communities known collectively as Saxons occupied most of the Northern Plain between Rhine and Elbe, their kindred the Frisians the mainland and adjacent islands about the mouths of the former river and of the Scheldt. It is supposed, as has been already mentioned, that the Salians first crossed the Rhine under pressure from the Saxons. While the Frankish dominion was growing in other directions the frontier with the Saxons east

¹ *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Chapter XLIX, p. 186, Vol. IX of the twelve-volume edition.

of the Rhine receded between the time of Clovis and that of Charlemagne. The plain between the Lippe and the Ruhr was lost, and the Saxons even established themselves in the Frankish highlands as far as the line of the Lenne (a left-bank tributary of the Ruhr), the Rothaar Mountains and the Diemel (a left-bank tributary of the Weser). They also had control in the Harz mountains as well as along the left bank of the Elbe, a district obtained at the expense of the Thuringians, and the remaining part of Thuringia had a Saxon frontier on the north. This remaining Thuringia was included in the Frankish Empire, but both the political loyalty of its people to the Frankish Empire, and their religious adherence to Christendom, had been subject to fluctuation. Neither had the political and religious adherence of the Alamanns (or Swabians) and of the Bavarians to the Franks been stable, and in every act of self assertion in the German-speaking but non-Frankish dominions east of the Rhine the Saxons were ready to provide support to rebellion. Even if the Thuringians and Bavarians be reckoned as sound citizens, the fact remains that the east-and-west communications of the Empire were flanked on the north by the Saxons for two hundred miles between Rhine and Elbe with no good natural defensive obstacle. Thus the military position of the Frankish Empire could never be satisfactory as long as the Saxons ruled in heathen hostility the northern plain between the Rhine and Elbe, and held moreover the escarpment of the Southern Uplands of Germany.

Three crossing places of the Rhine demand our attention in relation to the Saxon campaigns of Charlemagne, on the north at the apex of the Rhine delta, in the centre at the escarpment where the German plain is succeeded by the highlands, and furthest south the junction of the Main, the most important right-bank tributary of the Rhine.

Near the head of the Rhine delta stood Nijmwegen, at the site of the permanent Roman camp of *Noviomagus* which had been placed as a protection for Belgium against the tribes beyond the river. The Carolingian predecessors of Charle-

magne had already carried forward the Frankish frontier from this point, incorporating that part of the Frisian territory which lay to the north between the Saxons and the Frisians of the western shore. The conquest of the Frisian territory was completed by Charlemagne, who provided himself with a castle of residence at Nijmwegen as his northern headquarters, close to an eminence commanding a view of the branching courses of the Rhine proper, the Waal, and the Ijssel, as well as of the Meuse on the south.

The central crossing to which I have referred was at Cologne, with its suburb of Deutz on the right bank, forty miles east by north of Aix-la-Chapelle, near the escarpment of the highlands on the right bank, and thirty-seven miles above the junction of the Ruhr, a right-bank tributary.

The southernmost community of the Saxons, the Engrian Saxons, occupied the valley of the Ruhr to within a few miles of the right bank of the Rhine and had a fortress called Sigiburg for protection of the western entrance of their territory near the junction of a left-bank tributary, the Lenne, with the Ruhr. They held the valley of the Lenne to the Rothaar Mountains and the valley of the Diemal which runs somewhat north of east from these mountains to the Weser. On the Diemal was the fortress of Eresburg protecting the southern frontier of the Engrians. Its situation is represented by the modern Marsburg (not Marburg as sometimes stated). Here in the time of Charlemagne was the sacred wooden pillar, the Irminsul, which was the ark of covenant for the whole Saxon people. It is suggestive of a forward policy that it should have been brought to this position (probably acquired somewhat recently) upon the highlands.

If the first attack against the Engrian Saxons had been made by way of the Rhine crossing opposite to Aix-la-Chapelle the advance towards their capital would have been flanked by the Westphalian Saxons of the plain, and it may be owing to this that in the first campaign of Charlemagne, 772 A.D., the army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Worms, and that

Eresburg not Sigiburg was first attacked. Presumably the advance was northward through the district of the Hessian Franks. In connection with the preliminary strategic concentration south of the junction of the Main and Rhine it is suggestive to note the situation of the residence which Charlemagne was accustomed to use as a southern headquarters, the castle at Nieder Ingelheim on the left bank of the Rhine nine miles below Mainz. The importance of this neighbourhood in relation to the resources of the Frankish Empire and its internal communications will be dealt with in the next chapter.

After the first capture of Eresburg the Saxons reacted strongly and ravaged the territory along the right bank of the Rhine from opposite Coblenz as far down as Deutz, the eastern suburb of Cologne. This suggests one consideration in favour of Aix-la-Chapelle, forty miles west of the Rhine, as capital rather than Cologne, for experience is in favour of a position for general headquarters, military or political, which is advanced as far, but only as far as is consistent with remaining beyond the reach of lightning raids, or "tip-and-run" warfare.

Eresburg was retaken by the Franks, and Sigiburg on the Ruhr captured, with all the highland holding of the Engrians, and in 777, after five years' war, Charlemagne established an advanced headquarters at Paderborn which was used throughout the twenty-seven years which were yet to elapse before the Saxons of the plain were subdued and incorporated. Paderborn stands near the head-waters of the Lippe, an outpost of the highlands overlooking the Westphalian plain. It was used as an advanced political as well as military headquarters, for we read of embassies reaching the Emperor there, and a Diet was held in the town. It lies about one hundred and twenty miles from the Rhine crossings at Nijmegen and Mainz (which is near Ingelheim) and ninety-five miles from that at Cologne. The distances from the main imperial headquarters at Aix-la-Chapelle to the two branch headquarters and the advanced headquarters should also be noticed. They are, from Aix-la-

Chapelle to Nijmwegen seventy-five miles, to Ingelheim about one hundred and five, and to Paderborn one hundred and thirty.

The ancient establishment of a Rhine crossing at Cologne was, I infer, a predetermining condition of the selection of the neighbourhood of Aix-la-Chapelle as the metropolitan district. The latter city, lying close under the northern edge of the Ardennes, is on the shortest lowland route from the Cologne crossing to the confluence of the Seine tributaries in the fertile Paris basin. The establishment of a Roman garrison at Cologne appears to be connected with the utilization of the crossing-place by Germans on the right bank, for the Ubii were obliged by the Romans to vacate the settlement on the right bank and transfer their religious shrine to the site of the Roman settlement on the left bank, which was named accordingly *Civitas Ubiorum*, an appellation only changed in the time of Claudius for that of *Colonia Agrippina*. A stone bridge was constructed across the river by Constantine the Great¹ early in the fourth century connecting the left bank with an island (which now forms part of the mainland) and the island with the right bank at Deutz. This bridge was still standing when Charlemagne made Aix-la-Chapelle his capital, its destruction being later, and due to the Viking Northmen, against whom bridges, built for communication, became defensive obstructions.

After the incorporation of the Saxons in one body politic with the Franks, Alamanns (or Swabians) Bavarians and Thuringians, Aix-la-Chapelle was not long continued as a capital, except for the ceremonial of coronation, and, as far as the eastern part of Charlemagne's dominions was concerned, its place was taken by cities to the east and south of Ingelheim, of which Frankfurt is on the whole the most important. The final establishment of Paris as capital of the western part of the territories once ruled by Charlemagne will occupy our next attention, the consideration of Frankfurt being taken up in the following chapter.

¹ Baedeker's *Rhine*, 1873, p. 18.

THE SECOND INSTITUTION OF PARIS AS A CAPITAL

In the division of the Frankish territories agreed upon in 843 A.D. the boundary of the Kingdom of the West Franks between the coast and the Langres plateau followed approximately the consecutive boundaries of the Salian and Ripuarian settlements as they were at the accession of Clovis. A treaty of 842 was made bi-lingually, the oath of Louis the German being taken in the Romance language, that of Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, in German. Thus it appears that the Frankish aristocracy of Charles' kingdom now spoke Romance. In connection with the language-boundary it should be pointed out that the Latin tongue appears to have prevailed in the days of the Roman Empire throughout the Roman provinces of Upper and Lower Germany bordering the left bank of the Rhine, and that the language-boundary which was so important in Carolingian times was due to what happened during the settlement of Frankish tribes, not to inheritance from Roman times.

The Carolingian kings of the West Franks did not make Paris their capital. At the time of their extinction by Hugh Capet in 987 they were using Laon, which is nearer to the north-eastern frontier. Situated on a steep limestone hill it guards a gap in the steep north-eastern escarpment of the ring of hills which bounds the Paris basin on the north and east. It should be particularly observed that this is the gap leading to the Aisne crossing at Soissons where Syagrius had his capital, the Paris basin being the most important part of the territory which he had to defend.

From 1914 to 1918 the line between the German army and the French, defending Paris, ran between Soissons and Laon, and it was from the neighbourhood of Laon and La Fère that the great German offensive was launched in 1918.

The second rise of Paris to capital rank was determined by a series of events very different from those which determined

its former institution. That was a selection by a conquering monarch of a forward position suitable for the control of his expanded dominion. The site was abandoned for Aix-la-Chapelle when the expansion planned by one of his successors was in the opposite direction, namely over the plain east of the Rhine.

The Ninth Century was the great era of the Vikings; it was also the century which witnessed the rise of the Capet dynasty. The latter event was due to the former, being the result of a successful defence of the key position in the Norman invasions of the Western Carolingian dominions, no longer ruled by a strong central government. The Normans invaded these dominions by two lines of operation, the Seine and Loire. The attacks were practically simultaneous, for it was in 843 A.D. that they first wintered on an island at the mouth of the Loire and in 850 A.D. that they first wintered in Seine territory. The sailing-distance between the mouths of the two rivers is four hundred nautical miles, but as the course of the streams is followed inland the distance between them continually diminishes, until, between Orleans and Paris, the portage across the low watershed is scarcely seventy statute miles. This portage, with a commanding city at either end, was therefore the key-stone of the defence of the metropolitan part of the West Frankish Kingdom, which had been the last stronghold of Roman provincialism in Gaul. If the Northmen could hold it the whole of the country between the lower course of the two rivers would be very difficult of approach for the Frankish defenders. The danger to the Franks was enhanced by the circumstance that they did not control Brittany whose inhabitants, of foreign speech, were actively hostile. The defence of the country between the rivers was entrusted by the King of the West Franks, Charles the Bald, who at this time was also King of Germany, to Robert the Strong, the first of the Capet family known to history. He was appointed count of Blois and of Anjou, positions on the Loire below Orleans. His conduct gained him reputation, and he

was further appointed to the Counties of Nevers and Auxerre. These facts suggest that in the intervening district of Orleans he had a more personal possession, as his successors certainly had. His son Odo, or Eudes, described as Count of Paris, contributed to the repulse of the Northmen from that city in 885 A.D. The bridges may have been of assistance in the defence, and it has been recorded that the King and Emperor had caused fortified bridges to be thrown across rivers in order to block the advance of the Northmen. In a later chapter we shall see the importance of London bridge as a check on their invasion of England. Success against the Normans won for Odo election as King of the West Franks, a position which was held by more than one of the family before the Capets one hundred years later became an hereditary dynasty.

The mouth of the Loire had been held, but Normandy became the seat of a foreign people. No acknowledgment of suzerainty could make the political position of the Duke of the Northmen the same as that of a West-Frankish noble. Consequently just before the Capet dynasty was established in 987 Paris was in a salient of the West Frankish dominions between the territories of the German King and the Norman Duke.

The Royal Domain extended about one hundred and twenty miles from north to south with a general breadth from east to west hardly one third as great. It included the junctions of the Seine and Oise, of the Aisne and Oise, of the Marne and Seine, and of the Seine and Yonne. It also included both banks of the Loire at its northern bend. Orleans on the right bank of the Loire and Paris on the Seine between the junctions of the Marne and Oise were the two chief towns. From the Loire a little below Orleans to the Seine a little below the junction of the Oise the western boundary of the Domain followed a nearly meridional line. The country between Paris and Orleans, and that part of the Domain lying west of this line is mostly included in the district called the Beauce, a tract noted for its fertility and especially as wheat-growing land. The district called the Salogne on the left bank of the Loire within

its northern loop was marshy, that of the Gatinais between the Loire and the Yonne comparatively barren, and between the Gatinais and Paris was the extensive forest of Fontainebleau. West of the Beauce the hills of Normandy called the Perche offer some obstruction to transit. Hence the Beauce and all that part of the Royal Domain between Paris and Orleans was an important link in communication along the plains between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, as well as being the source of valuable supplies. Between the right bank of the Seine and the river Marne lie the fertile wheat lands of the Brie, and the part of the Domain between the Marne and Oise is of high general fertility.

The importance of Paris as a crossing-place on the great south-west to north-east avenue of the European plain is due to its position below the confluence of the Marne with the Yonne and Seine and above the place where the Seine begins to make wide meanders. The distance between these two obstructions is only about six miles, and here lie islands, on one of which the original city was built and which had been provided with bridges by the Romans. In respect to the longitudinal communications of the great plain, the crossing of the Seine below its junction with the Oise is almost or quite as convenient in position as the site of Paris, but the *Ile de la Cité* had not only the advantage of facilitating the crossing of the river but also of providing a natural Stronghold for the defence of the crossing and for securing a monopoly of the local navigation. The island is about two thirds of a mile in length and one sixth of a mile broad, and, even allowing for some growth of the island during historic times, the area was sufficient for the requirements of control both of the crossing and of the traffic up and down stream. Taking both position and defensibility into account the island of the City of Paris is the most advantageous place for connecting the part of the plain north-east of the Seine with that to the south-west.

The numerous valleys, several traversed by navigable rivers, which converge upon the Seine confluence just above Paris

also provide natural routes to the east and south-east, and in particular to the Saône-Rhone valley. Finally, the north-western course of the Seine below Paris is a first-class waterway leading to a Channel of the sea which has always been of great importance to shipping.

A preliminary examination of the map might lead one to suppose that the basin of the Loire, which is larger than that of the Seine, would be economically more important. When, however, we examine the two rivers as waterways we see that in this function the Loire and its tributaries are insignificant in comparison with the Seine and its navigable affluents. The total length of the Loire system which provides a depth of two metres, or six-and-a-half feet, of water is thirty-five miles, whilst the Seine and its tributaries provide five hundred and sixty miles of navigation with this depth. The minimum depth of the Seine as far as Paris is ten feet.¹

Rouen, on the Seine, which can be reached by ships drawing more than twenty feet,² recalls to some extent the situation of London on the Thames, but the site of a continental should not be precisely similar to that of an insular capital, since the movements of both commerce and war are largely across the land boundary. Moreover the site of Paris has advantages as a confluence of valleys and navigable streams which is not rivalled by any position on the upper Thames.

We have already examined the facilities provided by the site of Paris for crossing the Seine and for avoiding the necessity for crossing its tributaries. We must now examine the more distant connections provided by the Seine confluence.

The Seine before its junction with the Marne has received on its right bank the Aube and on its left the Yonne. Similarly the Marne has received the Ourq on its right bank. The Oise, before its junction with the Seine, receives on its left bank the navigable Aisne. Moreover the convergence of valleys towards Paris, is not limited to those of the Seine tributaries, for the

¹ See L. W. Lyde, *Geography of Europe*, p. 41.

² Longmans' *Gazetteer*, by G. G. Chisholm.

valley of the Upper Loire provides an easy route from the south-eastern highlands which is directed towards Paris until the river enters the plain above Orleans. Further, there is a fairly easy connection between Paris and the Saône-Rhone valley. The latter debouches where the Mediterranean breaks the long chain of lofty mountains which elsewhere intervenes between that sea and the northern coasts of Europe. The valley leads from the Mediterranean directly towards the northern shores, and the way to the valley of the Seine lies over a plateau of which the watershed can be crossed below the contour of sixteen hundred feet.¹ The summit tunnel of the railway north of Dijon is at thirteen hundred and twenty-six feet.² Pursuing this northern route from the Mediterranean we note that the Seine provides navigation to the English Channel, and that from Paris there is also good access by land to the Straits of Dover, across which the island of Great Britain is reached in less than twenty nautical miles, and through which the North Sea is entered. Thus Paris is situated on a trans-isthmian route the importance of which would be considerable even if it were only a short cut from shore to shore, but is actually much greater because it is also a short cut from Great Britain to the Mediterranean, the distance from Marseilles to London by Boulogne and Folkestone being only one-third that by the all-sea route.

We have seen that Paris is on the main route between the basin of the Scheldt and the Pyrenees. The advantage of this is however more for home transport than for through communication with Spain, as not only are the Pyrenees a barrier, but the levels in Spain itself are unfavourable. The trans-isthmian traffic through France by way of Paris is in fact much greater than the per-isthmian. The great strategic and commercial advantage of the isthmian character of France has been illustrated by the growth of the French colonial dominions in North Africa. These, the principal oversea

¹ H. Mager's *Atlas en Relief*.

² Baedeker's *Paris*.

possessions now held from Paris, are reached by a passage only four hundred nautical miles in length which continues the southerly course of the railway route from the capital to Marseilles. The northern shore of Africa, which here faces the southern shore of France, repeats many of the characters of the latter in respect of relief, climate and vegetation. The extent of country which is approximately European in character is about equal to that of Italy, and based upon it is a vast interior of quite three-and-a-half million square miles extending continuously beyond the equator; and both are held by the government which is seated at Paris.

The European frontier held from Paris in 1914 coincided throughout about five-sixths of its length with natural barriers of coast or lofty mountain, so that the country was better demarcated than most regions other than peninsulas or islands. The area so enclosed is of the same order of magnitude as the principal peninsulas of Mediterranean Europe, and as the British Isles. From the two peninsulas of Italy and Spain it is effectively debarred by the Alps and Pyrenees. The frontier from the Jura to the straits of Dover was more open. There stand indeed two obstructions across a part of this front, the formidable Vosges and the not-inconsiderable impediment of the wooded Ardennes with its tortuous river gorges. Between the Jura and the Vosges, however, is the low gap of Belfort, between the Vosges and the Ardennes the convenient routes of the Lorraine Gap, and between the Ardennes and the fen country of the Lys the fifty-mile way of the Belgian plain, extending from the Meuse to the Scheldt. Since moreover the amount of territory directly accessible across the Rhine is much greater than that lying across the Pyrenees or Alps, it follows that the permanent facts of physical geography made the eastern and north-eastern border of France from the Jura to the Channel the principal continental frontier, the side of the greater opportunities and liabilities. Similarly when we examine the coasts (Mediterranean, Atlantic and Channel) we shall observe that the two most vital sections

are evidently the Mediterranean and Channel, and that, as geographical conditions have made Great Britain a more formidable naval power than Italy, the Channel, not the Mediterranean, is the principal section of the French coast.

As Paris stands within the angle made by the Channel coast and the north-east frontier (reckoning the latter as extending from the Jura to the Straits of Dover) it follows that it has the forward position which we find to be typical of sovereign capitals.

The lie of the coal fields is also favourable to the status of Paris as an industrial city, for the principal coal fields of France are in the north-east. It is evident therefore that the position of Paris is normal for the capital to-day in both the political and commercial map. There was, however, a period when the chief neighbouring potentate was the King of Spain, and the title suggests that during an intermediate period the principal frontier of Paris was in the distant south. It was not actually so, however, for the rich Netherlands with their naturally unprotected access were commercially and in war the principal frontier between the Spanish and French kings during the great days of the Spanish monarchy, not the obstructive Pyrenean borderland with its want of commercial facilities, and strong line of defence.

The growth of the consolidated State of modern France from the Royal Domain of the Capets, the fact that they were Counts of Paris, and the circumstance that Paris has provided an abiding city for the national government, have combined to make Paris more completely the headquarters of national activities than almost any other capital of the present day. The geographical advantages of Paris are moreover of a fundamental kind which make the site suitable for one of the headquarters of mankind apart from national geography, whether we consider its position in the historic path of geographical development, or in the future when all parts of the world have been developed more nearly in proportion to their natural advantages. The convenient access from the Mediterranean,

due to the interruption of the Himalayan-Alpine system between the Alps and Pyrenees, assisted the Roman development of the Paris basin by way of the Rhone valley. The close access to the Atlantic from the mouth of the Seine assisted the early attainment of American Colonies ; the convenient access to Africa the acquisition of nearer colonies in the Old World. France has better access to the main interior of Eurasia than Great Britain, Spain or Italy, better strategic access to the Atlantic than Germany, better access to America than is enjoyed by Japan or China. It is remarkably fertile and fairly well endowed with minerals. It would be difficult to discover a district of the same size which has a better combination of natural resources, obstructive frontiers, and good home and foreign communications. [Appendix, note 3.]

CHAPTER V

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN GERMANY

THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF GERMANY

AFTER the division of Charlemagne's dominions between two hereditary dynasties of his descendants ruling a western and eastern half, the royal authority rapidly waned in both. The elective principle, which had always some recognition in Teutonic communities, was then re-asserted, and kings were chosen in both West and East Francia. We have seen that in the former the choice fell upon a Lord of Paris before the end of the ninth century, that it fell again upon one of his descendants near the end of the tenth, and that the office became hereditary in this family, though with little power beyond the district of the Seine confluence where he had authority as a noble as well as king. From this base of supplies and focus of communications where the dynasty was all powerful they gradually extended effective sovereignty over the feudatories of the original West Frankish kingdom and finally formed around Paris the modern French-speaking State whose boundary is not very greatly different from that of the first Kings of West Francia. So under the Capets as under Clovis Paris was the capital of a Great Power.

After the time of Charlemagne the use of Aix-la-Chapelle as a capital, which he began, was soon abandoned except for coronations. This is one of the facts which contribute to the misconception so often met with that the achievements of Charlemagne were not enduring. Another contributory fact

is that the completeness with which he accomplished the great task of his life led to a change of geographical names which obscures the permanence of the national union which he established. This achievement was the political and religious incorporation of the Saxon tribes with their German-speaking neighbours, which made the eastern boundary of the German tongue conterminous with that of Christendom.

The Saxons' country was still poor, but the people differed little by nature from the Franks, Alamanns (or Swabians), Thuringians and Bavarians, and the increase of political strength which resulted from their incorporation was enormous. The success of Charlemagne in welding the Franks with other branches of the stock contributed to the change of name to which I have referred, whereby the dominions of the eastern dynasty of his descendants ceased from the tenth century to be called East Francia and became known to its people as Deutschland, to the French as *Allemagne* and to the English as Germany.

Aix-la-Chapelle was the main capital during the Saxon wars, and Nijmwegen a branch headquarters whilst the incorporation of the Frisians was being completed. Under the later Carolings, Nijmwegen disappears from the category of occasional capitals, but the neighbourhood of Ingelheim is on the other hand increasingly used. That southern residence of Charlemagne lies nine miles below Mainz, which stands near the northern end of the broad and fertile Rift Valley of the Rhine. Here the Main enters through the broad and fertile country of its lower valley, which is in fact part of the same north-and-south Rift, or plain of fractured subsidence. Frankfurt, whose name records the position where the Franks forded the Main from the right bank (where the city stands) is twenty miles north-east of Mainz. It was the seat of many Councils, and often a royal residence, during the reigns of the later Carolings before 911 A.D.

Under the elected Kings of Germany of the Saxon and Salic dynasties, the Diet was occasionally held in widely-

separated cities according to the exigencies of the moment. Thus in 983 it was held south of the Alps at Verona, a connecting position for Pavia (the capital of the Lombards' " Kingdom of Italy " to which Otho the Great had been elected) and for Rome, the ecclesiastical capital of Western Christendom, of which Otho had been recognized by the Pope as temporal suzerain. In 1135 a Diet was held at Magdeburg near the Brandenburg frontier of Slavonic heathendom; in 1157 at Besançon on a tributary of the Saône where the King of Germany then ruled as the wearer of a Burgundian crown. If, however, we take account of the number of times when the Diet assembled in certain cities, and of the places where the most momentous assemblies were held, and also note the sites of royal residence and sepulchre, we find that the political centre of Germany can be determined with certainty for the period of the elective monarchy. This period I reckon from 911, the end of the Carolingians, to 1356, the date of the Golden Bull. By this document no less than seven princes, who between them administered a large part of Germany, were secured sovereign rights in their dominions, so that there was no longer in fact a King of Germany. In practice the end of effective German kingship came about 1254 A.D., that is to say not quite three hundred years after the second revival of the Roman Empire by the appointment of Otho the Great in 962 A.D. During these three centuries, within which fell the notable reigns of Otho the Great, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick the Second, German soldiery were in occupation of Northern and Central Italy. Frankfurt was always one of the Diet places, but up to 1137, the end of the Salic dynasty, the chief political towns were Worms and Speyer on the left bank of the Rhine, lying rather more than twenty miles apart, respectively below and above the confluence with the Neckar, Diets were often held in both cities, but Worms was known as " the mother of Diets," whilst Speyer was often a royal residence and was the burying place of the kings from 1030 to 1308. The Salic kings had a residence at Limburg close to Durkheim,

which is fifteen miles from Speyer and the same distance from Worms, and lies under the Hardt mountains twelve miles west of the Rhine.

Under the Hohenstaufens Frankfurt again came into greater use as a Diet town, and also as the place of election of the King-Emperor. By the terms of the Golden Bull of 1356 it was declared *Wahlstadt*, or Electoral City, and remained so until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. Throughout this latter period it may be properly regarded as the Confederate Headquarters of Germany. That Frankfurt was thus selected in 1356 indicates that immediately prior to that date it had on the whole the leading position among the administrative centres. Changes in the path of international trade must have contributed to this, particularly the development of Baltic trade, which was now organized by the Hanse league of cities, of which Lübeck was the official headquarters. The status of Frankfurt in the banking world is significant in this respect.

Of the other cities where the Diet met somewhat frequently (though not so often as at Worms) Würzburg in the upper valley of the Main, and Mainz in the Rift Valley of the Rhine deserve mention. At the latter were exercised more of the function which were associated with an imperial headquarters in the Middle Ages, for its archbishop was primate of Germany, arch-chancellor of the Empire, and president of the electoral college by whom the Emperors were chosen.

Thus, from 911 to 1356 there was no one city where the various functions of administration of the Kingdom of Germany were continuously performed, so that it is not possible to say of this kingdom, as of France, that a certain city was indisputably the capital. On the other hand the use of several cities at no great distance from one another serves to delimit the metropolitan district more clearly than can be done from one city. Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Frankfurt are all contained in a rectangle fifty-seven miles from north to south and twenty-one from east to west. The country within this

rectangle is physically uniform. It lies lower than any other part of Germany equally far south, and has a climatic advantage in mountain shelter, as well as in latitude, over the northern plain. Thus the Rift Valley below Karlsruhe (twenty-two miles south of Speyer) has not only hotter summers but also warmer winters than any other part of Germany. The rainfall moreover is lower than in most parts of the country, being only from sixteen to twenty inches in the year, favouring the vineyards, which are very extensive and produce wine of high quality. The fertile soil also grows wheat, and in later times, tobacco also. It is therefore an agricultural Storehouse. Being at a Crossways of far-reaching routes it is also an *entrepôt* where wealth accumulates from international trade. The narrow gorge of the Rhine between Bingen and Bonn is the best graded land-route, as well as the best water-way, between Southern Germany and the North Sea. The Rift Valley is also the access to the low Burgundian Gate between the Jura and Vosges, where Belfort stands. The valleys of the Neckar and Main open up routes both to the Brenner Pass and the gorges of the Danube, whilst the valleys of the right-bank tributaries of the Main provide communication with the basins of the Weser and the Elbe. To the west are valley routes to the Lorraine Gap (between the Vosges and the Ardennes) particularly the Nahe valley from Bingen leading to Metz, a city which was once a radiant of Roman roads to the Rhine, later the capital from which the eastern branch of the Merovingians generally ruled the German-speaking part of the Frankish Empire, and from 1871 to 1918 a fortified junction of German railways pointing towards Paris.

The commercial advantages of the natural Crossways at the Neckar and Main confluences with the Rhine were relatively greater in the Middle Ages than they had been before the mediæval development of trade on the North Sea and Baltic, or were after the opening up of the Atlantic routes to India and America. In this middle period, which comprises that of the Saxon, Salian and Hohenstaufen dynasties of German

Kings and Roman Emperors, the routes from the gulfs of Venice and Genoa to the valley of the Neckar or Main, and on to the North Sea and Baltic, were the land-link in the great commerce which had its south-eastern terminal in Asia and its north-western in Scandinavia and Great Britain. Thus the dominant commercial function of the "Holy Roman Empire" of the German kings during its days as a Great Power was the control of an isthmian transcontinental route which had an importance in the Europe of the Middle Ages comparable to that of the land route from the Persian Gulf to the Levant in the ancient history of Western Asia. The chief depot and redistributing place on this route was the metropolitan district of mediæval Germany, the neighbourhood of Frankfurt, Mainz, Worms and Speyer.

The reader who looks carefully at the orographical map may enquire why it came about that the centres of administration were confined to the lower part of the Rift Valley of the Rhine, since all lies open between Speyer and Strassburg. It is, indeed, somewhat singular that from the time of Clovis to the present day a political frontier of one kind or another should have stretched across the Rhine and its Rift Valley about half-way between Speyer and Strassburg, near the river Lauter, where Karlsruhe and Baden face Weissenburg and Wörth. Hereabouts the valley is also crossed by the frontier between the Swabian and Franconian varieties of the German language. The pre-disposing physical cause is the northern limit of the Black Forest Mountains which put the upper part of the Rift Valley beyond the convenient crossways for eastern communications.

It often happens that a political frontier draws attention to physical features whose influence might otherwise have escaped attention. In relation to the capital functions of Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and, particularly, Frankfurt, in mediæval Germany we must therefore look for the smallest provincial area which encloses them during the period of their administrative pre-eminence. As early as the tenth century

there is a Duchy of Franconia, which comprises all the cities we have mentioned. On the north it reaches, and includes, Cassel, and on the east comprises the whole of the basin of the Main and most of that of the Neckar. West of the Rhine it follows the Hunsrück ridge, so as to include the Nahe valley, and then turns south-east, running to the edge of the Rift Valley near Weissenburg and Wörth so as to include the Pfälz and Hardt hills. Before long, however, this great district was divided in two, known respectively as Eastern and Rhenish Franconia, or, *Östfranken* and *Rheinfranken*. The Rhenish Franconia, or *Rheinfranken*, appears to be the smallest political district which ever included all the four administrative towns Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Frankfurt, and it was a recognized area in the days of their pre-eminence. The dividing line with Eastern Franconia closely corresponded with the steep eastern boundary of the Rift Valley, Heidelberg and Aschaffenburg being in Rhenish Franconia, but closely overlooked from Eastern Franconia, which included the adjacent upper valleys of the Neckar and Main.

So far this subdivision only serves to emphasize the unity of the Rift Valley below the Lauter (including the lower part of the valley of the Main) but we obtain a new indication from the fact that the Hessian portion of the tenth-century duchy of Franconia, the large area north of the administrative cities, is included with them in Rhenish Franconia or Rheinfranken. The map which most clearly reveals the close physical connection of Frankfurt with the Hessian part of Rhenish Franconia is that which emphasizes the five-hundred-foot contour by a change of colour. This shows a long straight depression continuing the line of the Rift Valley of the Rhine in a slightly east-of-north direction to a point nearly east of Giessen, prolonged to Cassel by a slighter depression following the same direction. The southern part of this natural line of communication is the valley of the Nidda (which enters the Main five miles below Frankfurt) and its tributary the Wetter. The low, fertile valley, however, takes its name from the tributary,

being known as the Wetterau. The line of communication from Cassel to Frankfurt thus included in the Metropolitan part of mediæval Germany was historically connected with the latter city. The origin of Frankfurt is clearly indicated by its descriptive name, "the Franks' ford." It stands on the right, that is to say the north, bank of the Main, which flows here from east to west, which is its general direction. The Hessian Highlands were the home, or a part of the home, of the Franks, and although they had crossed the Main here, and the Rhine at Mainz, before the accession of Clovis, the district of Worms and Speyer were not conquered from the Alamanns until 496. Looking still further back we recall that it was in the neighbourhood of the Main that we first hear of Franks in Roman times, and that a Roman fortification (the *Pfahlgraben*) ran from the right bank of the Rhine about half-way between Bonn and Coblenz over the Taunus range and across the valley of the Nidda to the Main at Mittenberg (near the point where the river drops down from the eastern highlands) and thereafter to the Danube.

Rhenish Franconia of eleventh-century geography, which included the north-and-south route from Cassel to Karlsruhe and the east-and-west route from Aschaffenburg to Bingen, intersecting at Frankfurt, is therefore the metropolitan district of mediæval Germany, when there was an effective German kingship and when a dominant German army was maintained in the Lombard "Kingdom of Italy" and visited the Papal headquarters in Rome.

As the fertile lowland of the Paris basin was the nucleus around which the kingdom of France grew and the French nation was consolidated, so Rhenish Franconia, focussed on the confluence of the Rhine and Main, was eminently fitted to be the original nucleus of a modern kingdom emerging in strong consolidation at the end of the feudal period, and embracing all people speaking the German tongue, including the daughter languages Dutch and Flemish. All these had been in fact ruled from Rhenish Franconia, and the State centred there

was the strongest, and perhaps the best organized, in Europe.

The failure on the part of the German kings to retain the centralization of power, the hardening of the feudal frontiers within Germany at the very time when they were being dissolved in France, and the consequent migration of the principal German capitals to the marquisates on the eastern border, are rightly attributed to the Italian policy. Before proceeding to examine in some detail the bearing of strategic geography upon that great adventure I shall examine the question whether Frankfurt would, or not, have been in the time of Louis XIV of France and of the first Napoleon the normal site for the sovereign capital of a centralized kingdom comprising the territories actually ruled from Vienna, Berlin, and the minor German capitals. As in those days France was the principal neighbour of the German-speaking people, the chief frontier of Germany was the French. Frankfurt lies between the centre of the Germanic possessions and that frontier. Also, if the physical communications between the Paris basin and the German Rhine be examined without reference to the modern political barrier of Belgium, it will be seen that Frankfurt, a position which may be taken as representing the confluence of the Rhine and Main, is central for the two ways to the Seine confluence by the Lorraine gap and the Belgian plain respectively, central that is to say for Metz and Verdun on the one hand, Aix-la-Chapelle and Liège on the other. The Rhine valley has evident advantages for transport by land and water parallel to the frontier, and the river provides also an inner line of defence for the German-speaking lands.

It would be in accordance with other examples, of which the Russian and British Empires have yet to be cited, that the chief foreign acquisitions of the German kingdom should have been achieved in the rear of the country, behind the defences of the metropolitan district, so that the eastward expansion which was actually achieved from Vienna and

Berlin might well have been equalled had the Germans all been ruled from a sovereign capital at Frankfurt.

The independent development of Vienna and Berlin was due, as is well known, to the feudal independence which gave the States with frontiers towards the weaker eastern nations an opportunity of development at the very time when the western frontiers of Germany were receding. Had Germany remained centralized instead of being feudally decentralized, there is no apparent reason why the whole of the Rhine should not now be ruled from Frankfurt and its neighbourhood as was the case in the days of Otho the Great, so that Basle, Strassburg and Rotterdam would still be German towns, and also Metz, the old Austrasian capital.

When we examine the Rhine from the Jura to the sea in relation to Paris, we become additionally impressed with the suitability of Frankfurt as capital of the eastern neighbour of France. The course of the Rhine from Basle to the sea nearly conforms to the quarter of a circle having a radius of two hundred and fifty miles and Paris at the centre. Near the middle of this curved course of the Rhine is the principal confluence and most fertile district of the Rhine basin, at the junction of the Main.

The new importance which coal deposits acquired in the Mechanical Epoch have made the manufacturing headquarters of Germany the valley of the Ruhr, a right-bank tributary which enters the Rhine below Cologne. Were the mouth of the Rhine still German, the neighbourhood of Essen would have possessed additional advantages, and Rotterdam would have a share in the trade which now goes to Bremen and Hamburg. The shift of the industrial centre from Rhenish Franconia to the Westphalian Rhine would not, however, have impaired, but on the contrary developed the metropolitan character of the Rhine Valley.

It is often said that the fixation of the Roman frontier on the Rhine, by making the river a boundary between two conditions of civilization, prevented its ultimately becoming

the metropolitan river of one of the great nations of Europe, a destiny for which its situation and unrivalled navigation make it pre-eminently fitted. Seeing, however, that in the reign of Otho the Great five hundred years had elapsed since the settlement by heathen Franks and Alamanns of the central Belgian plain, of the country between the Rhine and lower Meuse, and of the valley of the Moselle and the plain of Alsace, we ought to look for a cause in times later than Roman. I emphasize the point that the settlement of these districts was a heathen settlement in a Christian land, for this is an important predisposing condition in the preservation of nationality and the legacy of a sharply defined linguistic frontier. The Franks adopted Christianity almost immediately after occupying the Paris basin, and in that district the Romance speech has prevailed. I submit that, not the Roman occupation before the fifth century, but the foreign policy of the German kings from the tenth to the thirteenth, was the historic cause of the political dismemberment of the navigable Rhine.

The great forces at the disposal of Otho the Great were due to the fact that Charlemagne had "chosen his enemies" with rare insight. By subduing and converting the poor lands of his heathen kindred he had brought into the body politic an accession of man-power more valuable than cities or cultivated fields. The first of the great German kings were Saxons, who thus in the fullness of time entered into the national heritage bequeathed by Charlemagne. Owing to the pre-eminent forces thus obtained, the Pope of Rome desired to confer upon the German king the title of Roman Emperor. The undivided Roman Empire had been nearly conterminous with Christendom, a geographical term for that part of the world where the obligations of the Christian code of conduct were acknowledged in public as well as private affairs. The teaching that Christendom was to expand till it included all the earth having been accepted by Christians, it followed that, if the institution of a Roman

Empire could be revived, its Sovereign would have the leading position among rulers in the Christendom of that day, and inherit the leading position among the rulers of the world. With the aid of a secular arm, which was now to be the German soldiery, the Roman pontiff might realize his claim to be ecclesiastical primate of the world. An alliance was accordingly formed between the Papacy, capitalled at Rome, and united Germany, capitalled in Rhenish Franconia. At about the same time Otho the Great became by arrangement sovereign of the Lombards' "Kingdom of Italy," which comprised the northern and central part of that peninsula and was capitalled at Pavia.

If the German kings could carry to a successful issue the ambitions which were opened up to them by the compact with the Papacy the German-speaking people would attain a predominance in Europe, possibly in the world, as great as that of which the Germans dreamed in August 1914. But in fact the King and Pope were rival candidates for one and the same political position, that of president, or arbitrator, of Christendom. If the German king succeeded in nominating the Pope, the king won; if the selection of the Pope were by independent ecclesiastical choice and if he could give or withhold at will the imperial investiture, then the Pope won. For a time the German kings had success in their great enterprise, and thereby temporarily promoted the pre-eminence of the German nation. But the policy involved prolonged absence of the Emperor in Italy and the diversion of a great part of the national levies from home defence, of which the most important part was the protection of the Slav and Hungarian frontiers. The conduct of these operations consequently fell to the feudatory nobility, and those whose provinces were on the heathen frontier were able to extend Germany by the displacement of the Slavs. Many of the Slavs were "enslaved" and sold in distant countries and the growth of the provinces was of a national character. Meanwhile the imperial levies met with an opposition in the

Italian kingdom from an unexpected quarter. A wonderful revival of the native people occurred which could hardly have been foreseen considering that they had not only been subordinate to Goths and Lombards but that agriculture had decayed and the industrial and fine arts fallen to a low ebb. Between the times of Otho the Great and the Emperor Frederick II, Italian city communities were developed in which, as in ancient Italy, the strength of the country was concentrated. In maritime enterprise and in the fine arts the Italians surpassed their forefathers of the Latin tongue, and, although they lacked the strength which in ancient times was promoted by the supremacy of one city, their walls were strong and their aggregate military resources formidable. The upshot of the Italian policy of the German kings was that the governing classes in Germany were not prepared to continue the supply of armies for subjugation of the great cities of North Italy, and that for the governing classes in Europe the authority of Rome had come to mean that of the Pope not of the Emperor. The next outcome in Germany, as has already been stated, was the recognition of the sovereign rights of a number of States within the Empire.

It will be observed that a direct distance of six hundred miles intervened between Rome, the Italian headquarters of the Emperors, and their German headquarters in Rhenish Franconia, which, for the sake of precision in measurement we will take to be centred at Frankfurt. The lowest passes across the Alps are on the east, that of Pontebba or Saifnitz leading to Villach having an altitude of only two thousand six hundred feet at the watershed between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. This line of communication between Rome and Frankfurt would, however, involve a long détour. Moreover Villach, even to-day, is on the borders of the Slav-speaking territories, and in the time of Otho the Great the Slavs had recently been in occupation of the valleys further west, so that the district was not politically well suited for the establishment of a firm connection between Germany and Italy.

The two most direct routes between Rome and Frankfurt were by Milan and Verona respectively. The former gave access to the St. Gothard and Splügen passes, the latter to the Brenner route. The great traffic by way of the St. Gothard at the present day is due to the tunnel. The road over the St. Gothard involves an ascent of six thousand nine hundred feet, as does that over the Splügen. The Brenner road on the other hand does not ascend above four thousand five hundred feet. Moreover, being further from the Atlantic and screened on the west by the Ortler and Oetzthal ranges, which attain a height of between twelve and thirteen thousand feet, the road is less blocked by snow and less subject to avalanches. Hence the Brenner route was the chief line of communication between Germany and Italy in the Middle Ages and was used by the Emperors in their frequent migration from their Italian to their German headquarters. Verona, near the foot of the Alps, is the junction of communication for the Brenner pass from Rome and from all the cities of northern Italy. Trent, in the valley of the Adige, is a meeting place of roads nearer to the German-speaking frontier and equally distant from Rome and Frankfurt, taking direct lines. Meran, the capital of Tyrol until the fifteenth century (when Innsbruck succeeded), lies only a short way off the direct line to the Brenner pass and is within German-speaking territory, although on the southern slope of the Alps, only one thousand feet above sea level.

In laying out the best line of communication between the Brenner pass and Frankfurt under the conditions of mediæval times we must note in the first place that the great amount of traffic which now goes from Innsbruck towards Lake Constance by way of Feldkirch is due to the tunnel which reduces the height of the Arlberg crossing from five thousand nine hundred to four thousand three hundred feet. On the other hand the low route eastwards descending the Inn valley by way of Kufstein and Rosenheim not only involves a détour but the crossing of several rivers before reaching Augsburg,

the city for which the course has to be laid. In days when bridges were few and carriage mainly by pack-saddle, not in wheeled vehicles, the *détour* and the river crossings would be a relatively greater disadvantage than nowadays as compared with the ascent of two thousand feet from Innsbruck to the Seefeld pass at an altitude of a little less than three thousand nine hundred feet, which leads directly to Augsburg along the course of the river valleys.

It is evident that if the Emperors were to exercise effective rule in both Germany and Italy, a general headquarters at a connecting point of the two countries was a prime requisite. This could be found at or near Trent, in which neighbourhood the German-speaking people are most nearly in touch with the plain of Northern Italy. Communication with the dominions of the Emperor's Burgundian crown in the valley of the Saône and lower Rhone would, it is true, have been inconvenient, whereas that country was readily accessible from Rhenish Franconia by way of Alsace and the gap of Belfort. This inconvenience might, however, have been accepted had there not been a much greater drawback to the neighbourhood of the Brenner Pass as the site of the general political headquarters of the Empire. This was the inhospitable nature of the Alpine belt, which is about one hundred and twenty miles broad reckoning from the three-thousand foot contour-line. This belt not only restricts the lines of communication but is poorly endowed both in respect of agriculture and minerals. As the Illyrian mountains precluded the establishment of a capital connecting the Latin and Hellenic provinces of the ancient Empire of Rome, so the broad belt of the Alps prevented the foundation of a capital uniting the German and Italian divisions of the Holy Roman Empire of mediæval times. The Alps did not, indeed, act as a military barrier, for the Germans had sufficient hold on the passes. The armies of the Emperor were not ambushed on their march as were the forces of Charlemagne by the Basque people when returning across the Pyrenees. The Alps were a barrier

chiefly because they were a broad zone of which a great part is permanent wilderness and the inhabited part split up into half-isolated communities.

What, we may ask, would have been the course of history had the lie of the land enabled the Emperors to keep in touch with the national life of Germany while taking a hand in Italian politics? There is no reason to suppose that Europe would have preferred the Emperor to the Pope as general arbitrator. It is doubtful if the great mercantile States centred in such cities as Venice, Milan, Genoa and Florence could have been permanently dominated by the Germans. But it is reasonably certain that, negligence apart, Germany could have been held together, its administration centralized instead of being feudally decentralized, and that in consequence, the Germans would have had a much better chance of retaining Switzerland, Holland and Alsace-Lorraine.

THE AUSTRIAN CAPITAL

The physical features which influenced the establishment and rise of Vienna, and helped to determine the extent and frontiers of the Dual Monarchy which the Habsburgs ruled from that capital in 1914, are of a remarkable character, and not repeated on as large a scale in Europe. It can be seen at once from any map which indicates the relief of the land that there is a large, roughly circular, lowland plain in Hungary, surrounded by mountains from which rivers flow towards its centre. Here, consequently there is a remarkable confluence of important streams. Examination of the substance and lie of the rocks shows, moreover, that there is a structural connection between the mountains and the solid groundwork underlying the alluvial deposits of the plain, the mountains and the underlying rock together forming what is called a "crust-basin,"¹ of which the lower part was produced by sub-

¹ See paper on *The Crust-basins of Southern Europe*, by Mrs. M. Ogilvie Gordon. *Report of Seventh International Geographical Congress*, 1899.

sidence, the mountains being the uplifted rim. According to the late Professor E. Suess¹ the Hungarian basin resembles that of the Western Mediterranean, but, the subsidence having been less profound, the floor of the depression remains above sea-level. The basin of the Western Mediterranean, Professor J. W. Gregory explains, is due "to the foundering of a block of the earth's crust which had been undermined at the time of the formation of the Alpine Mountains."² The same author goes on to point out, as do other geographers, that the rivers of Europe have no definite dependence on the Alpine mountain system although the main divide runs roughly south-west to north-east, for that divide is probably much older than the date of upheaval of the Alpine chain. Thus the Rhone, rising north of the southernmost great chain of the Alps, finds its way to the Mediterranean. The Danube shows even greater independence, for it cuts twice through the great chain of folded mountains, first in the Alpine gorges below Grein in Upper Austria, and secondly at the Iron Gates near Orsova, between the Transylvanian Alps and the Balkans.

If a river flow throughout its course according to the general slope of the surrounding land the drainage-basin is generally a convenient division, and river-basins are in fact the most definite natural divisions of the continents. When, however, a river cuts a deep gorge through great mountains more recently formed, it is necessary to discriminate between the upper and the lower basin, and in the case of the Danube we have to distinguish between the Upper, Middle and Lower. The basin of the Upper Danube lying between the Alps and the headwaters of the Weser was one of the first lands to be occupied and ruled by Germans after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. It was, however, invaded, and in some parts occupied, by Slavs coming from the Middle Danube

¹ *The Face of the Earth*, Vol. I, p. 234. Trans. by H. Sollas.

² *Geography, Structural, Physical and Comparative*, by J. W. Gregory, F.R.S., pp. 139-141.

valley as early as the sixth century of our era, and repeatedly overrun by Magyars from the same region in the tenth century. Under Charlemagne and Otho the Great a policy was adopted recalling that of ancient Rome, the establishment of provinces of a military character upon the unsettled frontier of the State. One of these was Austria, or the Eastern March. It is divided into Upper and Lower, the latter lying east of the Enns, a right-bank tributary of the Danube. Here for a distance of about forty miles below Grein the Danube flows through deep and narrow gorges where first Pöchlarn and then Melk, lower down, were established as capitals of the March, or frontier province. The positions are suitable for defence against the invasion of the Upper from the Middle Danube basin. Later, the capital was advanced eastwards to more open positions at Tulln and Vienna. This was the first capital of the Duchy, which comprised Upper and Lower Austria. The advantages of the site as the advanced headquarters of a German frontier State are very different from those of the earlier Austrian capitals in the Danube gorge. Whilst covering the defile, it also provides access to the open lands of the Middle Danube basin, closely flanks the important lowland route between the Adriatic and the headwaters of the Oder and Vistula, and also turns the natural defences of Bohemia, a region which is difficult of access from the Upper Danube basin on account of the ridge of the Böhmerwald which has its steep face to the south-west.

The Middle Danube basin within which Vienna lies has a greater confluence of considerable rivers than any other region in Europe west of the Volga. Most of the rivers which converge in the basin of the Middle Danube have their source in lofty mountains ranged approximately in a circle around the Hungarian plain. Consequently the basin of the middle Danube has convenient access by radiating routes to a defensible frontier. Sheltered from the north, it is on the whole favoured by climate, and has fertile soil in the lowlands and metallic ores in the highlands. Its size is about equal

to that of the larger peninsulas of Europe and of the well-defined district inhabited by the French-speaking people. Resources, internal communications, and defensive frontiers, therefore favoured the formation of one of the principal European States in the basin of the Middle Danube. Such a State was in fact maintained up to the year 1918, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy holding almost all the basin except the part comprised in the kingdom of Serbia. It held also the province of Galicia beyond the Carpathians, and the basin of the Upper Elbe, contained on three sides by the Bohemian mountains and easily accessible from the plain by way of the Moravian plateau. The Brenner Pass and the upper valley of the Adige were also within the territory, although there had been a time when their political connection was with Bavaria, that is with the Upper, not the Middle, Danube basin. There are in fact natural communications with both, by the valley of the Inn with the Upper, and by that of the Drave with the Middle, basin.

Vienna is more central in the territory which the Habsburgs ruled up to 1918 than is typical for the capital of a consolidated Empire. The "Dual-Monarchy" was, however, in fact a Dual Empire of which the associated parts were the German colony and conquests and the Magyar colony and conquests. Vienna was an advanced position in the German part connecting it with the Magyar part. The latter had its own parliamentary capital at Budapest. This, like Vienna, is on the river Danube, a great waterway navigable throughout its whole course in the Dual Monarchy, and also below to the sea, and above in Bavaria. The economic advantages conferred by such a waterway are great at the present time, and were relatively much greater in the Dark Ages when there were no good roads, and in the Middle Ages when there were few. Other conditions which contributed to the placing of the capitals on the Danube were the fertility of the plain and the advantages of the route to and from Germany provided by the Danube gorges of Lower Austria.

The exceptional importance of the banks of the Danube from Grein to Budapest is a geographical factor which has much to do with the peculiar distribution of races in the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where the heterogeneous populations could probably not have been so long held together but for the circumstance that most of the region has one physical structure. In the sixth century *Anno Domini* most of the Middle Danube basin was occupied by Slavonic tribes. The western frontier of the Slav peoples extended, according to Berghaus, from the Gulf of Trieste to the junction of the Inn with the Danube, along the western mountains of Bohemia, down the Saale to its junction with the Elbe, along that river nearly as far as the position now occupied by the town of Lauenburg, and thence (leaving the river on the west) to Kiel bay. At this time not only Upper and Lower Austria but also the Hungarian plain were occupied by them, and, had they been left in possession, it is conceivable that the Slavonic tribes of the Middle Danube basin might have become one nationality, as, further east, a number of other tribes coalesced in forming the Russian nation. But near the Hungarian plain, although across the Carpathians, lies the westernmost part of the open or Steppe country which stretches to the eastern limit of Mongolia, and part of the Hungarian plain itself had a similarly open character, forming an outlier of this great cavalry region. As Attila and his Huns had made this plain their headquarters, so the Hungarians, coming from the neighbouring Steppes, settled on both banks of the Danube at the beginning of the tenth century and, whilst subjugating the Slav tribes of the more distant parts, completely replaced that population along a great stretch of the central waterway. Similarly the Germans, working from the west, completely replaced the Slav population along the river. In connection with the inability of these Slavs to resist successfully either the Magyars or the Germans I have no views to put forward with reference to the fighting qualities naturally inherent in these several races,

but shall point out a geographical circumstance which, at the period with which we are dealing, must be presumed to have affected their relative military efficiency. The Germans had long been the close neighbours of Rome and had the opportunity of acquiring much of her military art. The Magyars belonged to that great area of open Steppe country which was conterminous with the settled empires of China and of South-Western Asia. The habit of combination in hordes for the conduct of great campaigns had given the nomadic horsemen valuable military experience. The Slavonic tribes from the forested regions of central Europe were deprived by their position of either kind of military experience whilst their inland situation also debarred them from the warlike training of the Viking life.

From Vienna can be controlled the route from the west between the Alps and Böhmerwald, that from the north by the Elbe valley between the Erz-Gebirge and Riesen-Gebirge, and that from the north-east between the Sudetes and Carpathians. Vienna, therefore, is the common starting point from all German-speaking lands for the Bosphorus crossing to Asia. The best route is by the Morava and its tributary the Nishava which lie within the Balkan peninsula and also within the Hungarian basin. We are accustomed to connect localities in the Balkan peninsula with Constantinople and those in the Hungarian basin with Budapest and Vienna. To which sphere then shall we assign the Nishava-Morava valley in the modern kingdom of Serbia? That the question arises is an illustration of the fact that although the Balkan lands have the form of a promontory their northern portion scarcely has the peninsular character. The slope towards the continent so far neutralizes the projection between seas that the natural connections of the principal valleys of Serbia are as intimate with Hungary as with Thrace.

Between the Nishava valley and Sofia the summit of the route to Constantinople is reached at the height of rather more than two thousand feet. The way onwards from the

Sofia valley is down the Maritza to the vicinity of the Bosphorus. The alternative route from the Hungarian basin to the Bosphorus down the Danube and across the Balkan range is much more difficult. A succession of river valleys and mountain passes in Europe and Asia lies so as to facilitate in a remarkable degree the communication between the North Sea and the Persian Gulf by way of Vienna, Belgrade and Constantinople. It is only on account of the greater political importance of Berlin in recent times that this natural line of communication has become associated with the expression "Berlin-Bagdad." The northern part of the route, namely Berlin to Vienna, has no special physical significance, being only one of many natural routes converging from the principal cities of Germany on the latter capital, and thence uniting in a common track to the Bosphorus crossing.

So much for the south-eastern communications which the Danube gorges open up from the original home of the modern Germans between Rhine and Elbe, and for the site of Vienna as a forward position in German-speaking lands. We will proceed presently to examine the situation of Berlin in the plain which provided eastern connections from the northern parts of the German-speaking lands which were economically developed at a later date but which have in recent times surpassed Southern Germany in manufactures and foreign commerce. Before doing so, however, we must pause to comment briefly upon the dynastic states with discontinuous territories which were a feature of the political geography of continental Europe in feudal times and during the succeeding age.

DYNASTIC STATES WITH DISCONTINUOUS TERRITORY

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the most conspicuous survival of the Empires whose principal bond was dynastic, which were once characteristic of Europe. The headship of these was determined by inheritance and marriage, passing

as property still passes. Thus a geographical consequence of the purely dynastic acquisition of sovereignty was the formation of discontinuous states, often with only maritime communication, and occasionally without any independent access to some of their parts even by sea. The greatest example of a discontinuous dominion united solely by dynastic and personal ties was that of Charles V of the House of Habsburg, immense in total resources but unfavourably grouped. One of the most striking changes in the political map of Europe during the last few centuries has been the disappearance of one after another of the discontinuous states. Except Denmark, scarcely one holds detached territory in this continent. The possessions held to the last by the House of Habsburg were diverse in nationality but contained in a ring fence. Thus in Europe, diversity of race has been less potent than discontinuity of land as a factor of political disintegration.

THE PRUSSIAN CAPITAL

We pass now to Berlin, the second great capital established by the Germans beyond the eastern boundary of that part of their ancient homeland which they never lost or abandoned, reaching from the Rhine to the Elbe. It is situated halfway between the Bohemian Erzgebirge and the sea in the northern plain which has here a width of about two hundred and fifty miles. This is not only a broader access to the main area of Eurasia than that by way of Lower Austria but has a more open continuation, for it lies clear of the Carpathians. Moreover it connects the only coastlands inhabited by Germans with the main interior of the Continent. Physically, therefore, the plain in which Berlin stands is a more important junction between Germany and foreign parts than the district of Vienna, but, as the development of the northern lands, both in and east of Germany, was later than that of the Danube valley, economic conditions were not ripe for the growth of a great capital in the northern plain until a later time than that at which Vienna became the capital of the Habsburg dominions.

So, whereas Rudolph of Habsburg made Vienna his capital in 1276 it was not until 1448 that Frederick II of Hohenzollern erected a royal castle in Berlin, and not until 1486 that the city became the permanent seat of a regular court.

In the sixth century and after, the frontier between the Germans and Slavs north of the Erzgebirge followed the Saale to its junction with the Elbe. The Saxons of that day were established on both banks of the Elbe estuary, and held a line from, or near, the junction of the Delvenau northwards to Kiel bay, or thereabouts. In the days of Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great (919-973) German authority was extended eastwards on the plain in a degree indicated by the term "Mark" which was applied to all the land between the line described above and the parallel line of the Oder from the estuary as far as its left bank tributary the Bober, and along that river to the Reisengebirge. Three lines of operation suggest themselves as possible for the main eastward advance of German power from the border lands, namely, on the north from the coast, on the south from the natural Storehouse of the fertile district centred on the town of Meissen on the Elbe, the modern kingdom of Saxony, and in the centre along the line of the Havel-Spree valley, a remarkable depression, to be presently described, which, with its navigable east-and-west waterway, provides a natural connection between the Elbe and Oder above the point where their lower courses begin to diverge from one another. This valley however is infertile, and the advantages of a natural Storehouse as an original base of Empire are so great that, if the conditions of the two localities last named were considered only in relation to their physical geography, it would, I think, be reasonable to say that the district of modern Saxony, not that of modern Brandenburg, would be more likely to become the seat of an imperial capital.

But the Slavonic land of Silesia had early become impregnated by German influences, and these came largely from south of the Erz- and Reisengebirge. The native princes of Silesia,

who had made themselves independent of Polish rule, encouraged German immigration and placed themselves under the suzerainty of the German dynasty ruling in Bohemia, so that long before the beginning of the fifteenth century (when the house of Wettin went to the modern "Saxony" at the same time as the Hohenzollerns went to Brandenburg) the former district (Saxony) had long ceased to be a frontier land of Germany. Its eastern frontier had, in fact, been overlapped by the growth of the dominions which became centred in Vienna. The economic well-being of its inhabitants had been thereby increased but its ruling dynasty deprived of the opportunity of extension of dominion beyond Germany.

In the north a capital of peculiar character was early established at Lübeck, chief city of the Hanseatic League. The site of Hamburg, although on the right bank of the Elbe, had been retained throughout by the Germans. Lübeck is a good Baltic harbour only thirty-five miles distant, this short portage saving a voyage of about six hundred miles round the Skaw. The League obtained commercial supremacy on the Baltic coasts and in cities as far distant as Novgorod-the-Great on the Ilmen.

Another agency of German expansion along the Baltic coast was provided by the Teutonic Military Order, which, together with the Order of the Sword, incorporated within it, exercised an ascendancy in Prussia and other districts further east. The Hanse League, which had ships of war, co-operated with the Military Orders and provided communication by sea between their territory and Germany. Lübeck, therefore, has some claim to rank as the capital of a maritime Power. But after the subjugation of Novgorod-the-Great by the Czars of Moscow in 1478, and the development of Dutch and English shipping which followed the discovery of America, the League soon ceased to be a political Power, whilst the adoption of Christianity throughout Lithuania, the last heathen State in Europe, marked the close of the epoch when Crusading Orders could recruit their ranks.

We see therefore that Berlin became the capital of a dynasty just when the Baltic was ceasing to be a line of operation for the extension of German dominion.

There were however German principalities as well as autonomous municipalities upon the coast of the old Mark-lands between the Elbe and Oder, represented by the modern duchy of Mecklenburg. As the chief harbours of the neighbouring coast were developed independently of the Principalities the point which remains to be examined is the opportunity of the coastal Principalities for extending their dominions overland into Slav territory. In this respect Mecklenburg, in the Mark of the Billungs, fared much as did the Mark of Meissen and the district comprised in the modern kingdom of Saxony, for the adjacent Slav territory Pomerania on the Oder between its last western bend and the sea voluntarily joined the German Empire, and its two Duchies, ruled by native dynasties seated at Wolgast and Stettin, became Germanized.

The upshot of all these events was that early in the sixteenth century Brandenburg and Pomerania were the only German principalities except those ruled from Vienna which had a Slavonic frontier, and therefore the only two so placed as to have the opportunity of direct expansion over foreign countries more recently civilized and less developed economically than those which bordered Germany on the west and south. Such was the succession of events in other parts of the North-German Mark-land which led up to the epoch of opportunity for Brandenburg.

The way is now clear for a description of the growth of this State. Its name, which came into use in the twelfth century, is taken from the old Slav fortress at a crossing near the western bend of the Havel-Spree river. The district in which it lies was occupied in the tenth century by Otho the Great who fostered the growth of the city of Magdeburg on the Elbe. A high bank on one side with dry land on the other and islands between, which are a rare advantage in these parts, make the site the best crossing place of the river within a considerable

distance up or down stream.¹ Being near the Harz mountains it is at the confluence of the lowland route from the west which skirts the north of the Hessian highlands with that from Southern Germany by way of the Saale valley, which leaves the Bohemian Forest on the east. The city was placed under the authority of an archbishop, which may have contributed to its early prosperity but diminished its chances of becoming the seat of an imperial dynasty. From the crossing-place was ruled a strip of territory on the eastern bank of the Elbe which generally extended about as far as the confluence of the Havel. The Slavonic Wends, however, reacted strongly after the death of Otho the Great, recovered most of the Havel-Spree Valley, and fortified the crossing at Brandenburg, from which they were finally ejected in 1153 A.D. by Albert "the Bear" Count of Bällenstadt. He was appointed margrave of the Mark which was sometimes termed the Northern Mark (a term apt to mislead us now as it did not apply to the Mark of the Billungs on the Baltic), sometimes the Altmark, and sometimes the Mark of Salzwedel. The town so named is situated about thirty-three miles west of the junction of the Havel with the Elbe and some twenty-seven miles from Wittenberge, an important crossing-place of the latter river. Salzwedel had been the capital of the Margraves since 1070 and, although after the recovery of the Havel-Spree valley the designation of the Margravate was changed to "Brandenburg," Salzwedel, west of the Elbe, remained the capital of Albert the Bear, now known as Albert of Brandenburg. By 1253, that is to say in the course of the next hundred years from the time of Albert, the authority of the Margraves was extended beyond the Oder, so that the physical peculiarity of their territory was its position astride both the Elbe and Oder, the two greatest rivers of Northern Germany, of which, be it especially noted, one flows to the North Sea, the other to the Baltic. This was still the leading characteristic of the State at

¹ *Europe*, vol I, *Stanford's Compendium of Geography*, by G. G. Chisholm, p. 551.

the accession of the Hohenzollerns in 1412. The names of its districts were then, Altmark, the original base west of the Oder with the old capital Salzwedel, Mittelmark stretching its length along the east and west part of the Havel-Spree Valley towards Frankfurt-on-Oder, and the small district of Sternberg beyond that river. There were also two northern extensions from the Mittelmark, Priegnitz and Uckermark.

The total area of the State was not more than ten thousand square miles, which is less than that of Belgium. The strategic importance of the Mittelmark where the new dynasty established the capital is related to the following geographical conditions. The position intercepts communication between Silesia and the North Sea port of Hamburg, and between Thuringia and the country comprised in the modern kingdom of Saxony on the one hand and the Baltic port of Stettin on the other. The importance of this interception arises mainly from the obstruction offered to navigation by the Danish peninsula, and in a secondary degree from the position of the mountains which enclose Bohemia. The second geographical factor is the relief and hydrography of the Havel-Spree basin, which has served three important purposes. In the first place the rivers, marshes and lakes were readily defensible against movement north-and-south. Secondly they provided a natural water-way from east to west, which in the seventeenth century under the Great Elector, was continued by canal to the Oder. Thirdly the Havel-Spree Valley has advantages as a railway route which have been of great importance in the nineteenth and the present century. The character of the local relief, however, eludes representation on ordinary maps. In order that the relief of the district may be visualized and its important advantages understood, it is necessary to describe in some detail the channels of the Spree and Havel and the broad depression in which they lie.

The size and shape of the Havel-Spree Valley was determined during the recession of the ice-sheet at the close of the last period of glaciation of Northern Europe, a time not very remote.

The valley forms part of a great system of drainage from a little south of east to a little north of west, of which the Warthe is a part. This was apparently the prevailing direction of river drainage before the Oder turned and cut a northern course to the Baltic, a depression which was then of recent formation. In the broad trough of this great valley of late glacial times the shrunken waters which form the present Havel-Spree system of rivers have not sufficient power to cut a channel suited to their moderate volume. Their course is essentially as follows. In the south-east the Spree below Kottbus splits into more than two-hundred arms, forming a marshy maze thirty miles long by three miles broad, the Spreewald, where a remnant of the ancient Wends still retain their native speech and cling to a distinctive dress. Thence to Köpernick the river spreads here and there in lakes, and is joined by right- and left-bank tributaries from the north-east and south-west. Below Köpernick comparatively high ground approaches the Spree from both north and south, and for sixteen miles, although it has in places more than one channel, there are no lakes and no considerable marshes, neither does it receive any tributaries. At the end of this sixteen-mile reach, the Spree, which here flows west-by-north, joins at right angles the left bank of the Havel, also a navigable river, which descends from the Mecklenburg hills in a direction west of south. It has already widened into lakes above its junction with the Spree at Spandau, and below this the combined streams spread in a series of broader lake-like expansions which have a generally south-west direction for the next twenty miles and then westward for another twenty, or rather more. Lastly, the river, now known simply as the Havel, the Spree being reckoned a tributary, flows north-west to its junction with the Elbe forty miles further, reckoning in a direct line. Thus between the upper end of the Spreewald and the crossing where the town of Brandenburg stands near the lower end of the Potsdam lakes, the wide-spreading waters of the Havel-Spree system can only be readily crossed between Köpernick and Spandau. This reach of the river is just half-

way between the Oder and Elbe, and Berlin stands exactly in the middle of the reach, halfway between Köpernick and Spandau.

The lines of water-parting to north and south of the rivers Havel and Spree do not rise above the six-hundred foot contour, and consequently most orographical maps suggest to the eye that a generally uniform plain extends from the foothills of the Kingdom of Saxony across Brandenburg to the coast of Mecklenburg. In fact, however, there are long ridges of old moraines a few hundred feet in height left in lines roughly parallel to the Baltic coast during the retreat of the ice-sheet.¹ It is thus not merely the central position, or the acquired importance of a capital, which draw railways to a junction at Berlin, for the glacial hills to north and south make the neighbourhood of the city a desirable railway route for connection with the broader parts of the European plain which lie beyond the northern Carpathians.

We have seen that when Berlin became a capital, the Pomeranian duchies were the only German principalities not ruled from Vienna which resembled the Electorate of Brandenburg in having a Slavonic frontier. The principality of Brandenburg had claims to suzerainty over Pomerania based on the original conditions under which the latter was adopted into the German empire, but real supremacy could only be obtained by fighting. It was partially achieved in 1648, at the Peace of Westphalia, after the Thirty Years' War when Eastern Pomerania, beyond the Oder, fell to Brandenburg, Western Pomerania, including Stettin, being acquired by Sweden. In this partition we see one of the strategic disadvantages of Pomerania in the struggle with Brandenburg, namely that it was exposed to attack from Sweden, then at the height of her power. From 1648 no German capital but Vienna shared with Berlin the opportunity of a

¹ See L. W. Lyde, *Geography of Europe*, p. 294. J. Partsch, *Central Europe*, Fig. 16, p. 91, "Edges of the Ice-sheet," and H. J. Fleure's pamphlet (Sociological Society), *Berlin and its Region*, Fig. 2, "Moraines of the North German Plain."

Slavonic frontier. In 1720 Stettin and the island of Usedom with the outer port of Swinemunde were acquired by Frederick William, the first Frederick William of Prussia though not the first ruler of Brandenburg who bore the name, which was also that of "the Great Elector." This gave the Kingdom of Prussia, as the State based on Brandenburg was now called, independent access to the sea by a great navigable river with a good port, an advantage not enjoyed by most of the other leading principalities of Germany. Even Vienna had no port in a country with German population. The acquisition of Stettin completed the preparation of the intercepting Crossways which was the strategic base of the Prussian Empire from which its great conquests were made to the east of Berlin in the eighteenth, and west of Berlin in the nineteenth century. The pre-eminence thus attained led in 1871 to the election of a Prussian King as Emperor of all German States except those ruled from Vienna, a position which his two successors retained until 1918 ; and the States joined in 1871 remain united in 1922.

The resources which assisted the military development of the kingdom of Prussia in the nineteenth century, and of the modern German Empire which was founded in 1871, were mainly the coal and metalliferous ores of the older rocks of the highlands which lie between the more recent folded mountains of the Alpine-Carpathian system on the south and the coast. These minerals are easily accessible along the escarpment which bounds the highlands and overlooks the coastal plain. The escarpment runs the whole length of the Empire from the Ardennes to the head-waters of the Oder. No other State of western or central Europe was as well endowed with minerals, even without reckoning the iron mines of Lorraine which between 1871 and 1918 so greatly assisted German manufactures. The epoch of Mechanical Power, which may be considered as already established in 1815, the date of the battle of Waterloo, is associated with altered geographical values. The homelands of the European nations had been determined with little reference to the situation of metalliferous

rocks and without any reference to deposits of coal; but the occurrence of economic minerals, particularly coal, has been a prime factor of progress in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Consequently the minerals of Germany particularly of North Germany, gave Prussia, as the leading North-German State, opportunities for development at a more rapid rate than her neighbours. The acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine by the German Empire made that State equal in area to France when deprived of those provinces. In 1816 the population of France not reckoning Alsace-Lorraine was twenty-nine and a half millions, to which by 1911 ten millions had been added. In the same period the countries included in the German Empire of 1871 had increased from twenty-five to sixty-five millions, an increase four times as great although the population was less at the beginning.

Berlin is the capital of an Empire whose mineral resources required for their full exploitation a great development of foreign commerce, and there is no other State which has a better commercial situation. Her excellent North Sea ports are centrally placed for the World's coasts, and the northern plain on which they are situated extends unbroken, past the capital (situated in an east-and-west depression) to the central parts of Eurasia, the largest division of the Old World, which is twice as large as the New World.

Although the German North Sea ports are as well situated commercially as any in the world, Rotterdam and Antwerp, however, running them close, they are subject to a strategic disadvantage, for their ways to the ocean are flanked in the Channel by the French harbours, and both in the Channel and by the northern route, by those of Great Britain.

The question arises whether Berlin, the capital of the chief modern German State, is suitably placed for the national capital of all the German-speaking communities, now politically united on equal terms. The question is not a simple one, because the German lands have no single dominating geographical character. They are not insular as the United King-

dom, or peninsular as Italy, isthmian as France, or terminal as Russia, which is backed by the Arctic ice. The principal frontier is not the south, where lie the Alps. Neither is it the coast, in spite of the modern importance of maritime commerce, for Great Britain and France occupy too dominating a position on the lines of naval communication. The question therefore is whether the east or west is the principal frontier of the country. Had the political unity of all German people been achieved as early as that condition was reached in France, it is likely, I think, that the German capital would have remained in the Rhine basin. We have to consider whether it is likely that some city here will outgrow Berlin in population and influence. Such growth would necessarily occupy a considerable time, and meanwhile the development of the neighbouring countries will proceed. The countries lying to the west are, relatively to those on the east, very small. They are already highly developed and densely peopled, and have a first-rate access to the ocean which is not flanked by Germany. The countries to the east (north of the Black Sea) are immense, contain much fertile land, and are for the most part sparsely peopled and backward in development. They have a good access to the Atlantic (the commercial ocean) by rail through Berlin to the port of Hamburg. Thus there seems some ground for expecting that Berlin, with Hamburg, may be for the Republican Empire of Germany what New York is for the American Republic, the principal connection between the home and foreign communications. If we look far enough afield we cannot miss the significance of the connection provided by the Elbe estuary and the Havel-Spree valley. It is a defile where the highways converge in the zone of latitude in which lie the great wheat lands which are the principal home of the European Stock both in the Old and New World. In this zone, moreover, are the deposits of coal and metalliferous ores which provide the material for the principal modern factories. The principal line of international commerce through Germany, now that the United States is developed and Russia has a large popula-

tion, runs differently from the main track in the Middle Ages. This was from south-east to north-west, Asia being then the sole source of tropical products and the British Isles the western terminal of communications. Thus it seems probable that coming developments will tend to maintain Berlin as the chief German capital. [Appendix, note 4.]

CHAPTER VI

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN HOLLAND, DENMARK, RUSSIA AND THE SPANISH PENINSULA

THE CAPITAL OF HOLLAND

WE have already recorded instances of the origin of political Powers consequent upon the geographical progression of industrial development, but Holland became a seat of empire owing to the natural growth of new land and a shifting of the course of rivers within historic times.

The Rhine formed the Roman frontier from near Coblenz to the sea. The course of the river was nearly the same as that of the present " Lower Rhine " as far as Dorestad, whence, instead of following the southern, Lek, channel, it flowed by the northern course in what is now a minor channel by way of the Roman station Utrecht to its mouth at the present town of Katwijk, where (or rather a mile or so beyond the present coast-line) was situated the Roman fort of Brittenburg. Utrecht had a commanding position, being on the main channel at the furthest point where the ground is high enough to be dry and firm. At the beginning of the eleventh century it was still a place of importance and the capital of a small State. The southern distributaries of the Rhine were, however, by this time the principal outlets, and Arnheim on the Lower Rhine, continued as the Lek, and Nijmegen and Tiel on the southernmost distributary, the Waal, were important towns. About 1015 A.D. a dramatic event occurred. The Frisian Count, Dirk III, had inherited lands in the low-lying country by the sea north of the Lek. Egmont near Alkmaar in the

present division of North Holland seems to have been the principal centre. This Count built a castle at the site of Dordrecht,¹ which became the capital of his descendants, on very low-lying bush-grown fenland, to which the name of Holland appears to have been then applied. The strategic importance of the castle site is not fully revealed by modern maps, for in the fifteenth century the district immediately to the east, the Biesbosch, was inundated, changing the channels of the Waal and Maas (or Meuse). The position of Dordrecht at the time of its foundation was comparable to that of the modern Gorkum, that is at the confluence of the Waal and Maas, commanding the way to the sea from the cities on the Meuse, from the Rhine cities by way of the Waal, and, particularly, from Nijmegen and Tiel, situated on that distributary. Shipping trade with England from these rivers was already important, and Dirk III. from his fortified position at Dordrecht, where a town soon grew up by the castle, began to levy tolls. The Bishop of Utrecht and the Archbishop of Cologne appealed to the German Emperor Henry II., who sent an important military expedition to reduce the castle. The imperial forces were, however, signally worsted among the marshes. Dirk III. was confirmed in his new possession and became the founder of the Counts and County of Holland. This episode must be considered in conjunction with another of like character in 1047 A.D., when the Emperor Henry III. besieged the next Count, Dirk IV., with naval and military forces in Vlaardingen, a stronghold situated below the modern Rotterdam, commanding the mouth of the Lek, the remaining principal entrance to the navigation of the Rhine not commanded at Dordrecht. Both the naval and military contingents of the imperial forces were worsted, the latter, as at Dordrecht, getting into difficulties in the marshy ground. Thus the Counts of Holland were established on positions commanding the marine entrances not only to the Meuse but to the Rhine, the greatest inland waterway of Europe.

¹ See *The Geography of Europe*, by L. W. Lyde, p. 263.

How was it, we may well enquire, that the sovereigns, statesmen, soldiers and merchants of the interior should have been caught napping in this way and have allowed a people of small resources already situated on the lower Lek to seize the site of Dordrecht, commanding the alternative entrance of the Waal as well as that of the Meuse? The answer may be that the same action of tides which in the course of the preceding five hundred years had been blocking northern river channels had also been laying down new islands and foreshores further south; that the district round Dordrecht, as well as, probably, much of the islands of Voorne, Gooree and Overflakkee had only recently become habitable, and that it was the dwellers in the hollow, or sunk, country between Vlaardingen and Egmont, and not the dwellers on firm land upstream, who realized that the apex of the delta where they founded Dordrecht was a possible place of residence. Probably it was at that time only just practicable to live there, and those unused to living below the level of high tide might well have failed altogether to maintain themselves in such a situation. Thus the negligence of the inland governments was less than at first sight appears, whilst on the other hand it is impossible not to admire the enterprise and foresight of Dirk III. The district with command of communications which was won by strategic genius was improved and extended during succeeding centuries by industry and mechanical ingenuity. The marshes of the fenland, unlike those of boggy uplands, were of great fertility, and much new and fertile fenland was gained from the sea by dyking and added to the present provinces of South and North Holland. Moreover the new position at the apex and on the islands of the Waal and Maas delta was a connecting position between the part of Holland north of the Lek and Zealand, a district which comprised the deltaic islands of the Scheldt. In addition to the present islands these included others on the south side of the western Scheldt estuary, the present entrance to Antwerp. The process of silting has now united the latter islands to one another and to the mainland of

Flanders, thereby producing the apparent anomaly of a portion of the modern kingdom of Holland in what looks, on the map, as if it were by nature a part of Flanders.

There is no evidence, as far as I am aware, that the course of the Scheldt has been as variable as that of the Rhine, and there are physical causes which make such great movements unlikely. Thus it is probable for physical reasons that the islands of Walcheren and Beverland were habitable before those of Shouwen, Overflakkee and Voorne, and this conclusion is supported by archæology and history, for Roman remains have been found on Walcheren, and it is recorded that Northmen made the island an important base for Viking raids in the ninth century.

There was a long contest between the Counts of Flanders and Holland for the political adhesion of Zealand, or, to put it geographically, it was long doubtful whether the islands of the Scheldt delta would go with the neighbouring mainland of the Scheldt or with the adjoining islands of the Rhine delta. In Zealand the conditions of life, both agricultural and maritime, were similar to those in Holland and markedly different from those in Flanders, so that when Zealand and Holland were finally joined they formed a district of uniform physical characteristics. The inroads of the sea which formed the Zuider Zee in the thirteenth century gave the enlarged County of Holland a defensible frontier on the north-east.

The control of communications obtained by Dirk III. when he placed a fortress at Dordrecht was premeditated. That which resulted from the possession of Zealand long after its acquisition could not have been foreseen. It arose as follows. The economic development of Flanders preceded that of the County of Holland by several centuries. Ypres, Ghent and Bruges were great cities and great ports, all having good communications with the sea. Bruges, which was the capital of Flanders in the twelfth century, had access by the river Zwiijn to the sea westward of Flushing which is situated on the opposite island of Walcheren. In the fourteenth century its

trade was comparable to that of Venice. But the western harbours of Flanders silted up, and before the end of the fifteenth century the ocean trade of the country had consequently concentrated at Antwerp. The strategic importance of this change was masked at the time by the fact that from 1436 A.D. the County of Holland had become dynastically incorporated with the dominions of the House of Burgundy, and therefore later with the Kingdom of Spain. When, however, Holland and Zeeland, under William "The Silent" of Orange, (the Stadholder, or Governor, appointed by Philip II. of Spain) revolted, and ultimately established independence, the new strategic control conferred by the possession of Zeeland was revealed. The entrance to Antwerp from the sea is only about two and a half miles wide opposite Flushing, and both coasts of the estuary belong to Zeeland. It is significant that the War of Independence against Spain began with the seizure of Brielle and Flushing by the "Sea-Beggars" of Holland in 1572, that is, opened with the seizure of commanding positions at the entrance to the Lek and Scheldt. The possession of Zeeland enabled the Dutch to stop the ocean trade of Antwerp, diverting it to Amsterdam. Long after war had ceased the Dutch maintained tolls on the Scheldt, which were only abolished by purchase in 1863.

Such was the succession of events by which the dwellers in sunk fens and insecure islands obtained either the possession or control of all the entrances of the Rhine, Meuse and Scheldt, as well as of fine harbours on the sea. The peculiar conditions of their life made them a people apart. The most advanced of their neighbours during the formative period were the Flemings, and the Flemish language, transmitted mostly by way of Zeeland, became the chief literary influence in Holland. But the rise of the Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces to the rank of a Great Power, and the relative political decline of Flanders, has caused Dutch to be classed as a language and the parent Flemish to be, except perhaps in the last few years, regarded as a patois. Holland and Zeeland were federated in

1576, and in 1579 joined by Utrecht, Gelderland and Zutphen. The dialects spoken by the districts of the Protestant provinces which, with Holland proper, obtained national independence, differed from those of Holland and from each other. But the issue of an authorized version of the Bible in the tongue now known as Dutch provided a universal language for all parts of the new Republic, embodied in a book generally and publicly read. The invention of printing must have contributed greatly to determine European nationalities by fixing what were previously in many cases insecure dialects, but in no case, as far as I am aware, was this effect so marked as in that of the Dutch nation.

The area of the present kingdom of the Netherlands, successor to the Republic since the Congress of Vienna, is twelve thousand six hundred square miles, of which three thousand is the area of the metropolitan State, the federated Holland and Zeeland, the enlarged County of Holland. This sunk land contains all the great seaports, and when we examine the scheme of national defence for the kingdom we see that the district, equal in size to the two English counties of Essex and Suffolk, is still the citadel, or place of final defence, of the whole State. The scheme of defence is based upon the circumstance that the hollow, or sunk, land can be isolated by an inundated belt contained between dykes. The inner and broader belt of inundation extends on both sides of the Lek from Kuilenburg. From the right it extends in a direction rather west of north passing just east of Utrecht and reaching the Zuider Zee between Naarden and Muiden, the general course being very slightly downhill. On the left bank of the Lek it extends in a south-west direction to Gorkum on the Waal, a position where the level is lower than at Kuilenburg. Both the northern and southern parts are divided into a series of boxed compartments to permit the regulation of levels. The direct distance from the Zuider Zee to Gorkum is about thirty-three miles, or reckoning a small flooded area on the left bank of the river south of Gorkum, about thirty-five miles in all.

Further south all the provinces of South Holland and Zealand have permanent water protection except the small part of Zealand which has, by the process of silting, been united to the coast of Flanders.

The Dutch Republic, well placed for trade, remarkably well provided with harbours, and fairly well protected against attack from the land, rapidly acquired a Colonial Empire. Within a hundred years of the time when Brielle and Flushing were taken from the Spaniards, the Dutch had established themselves territorially at New York, Curaçoa, Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Malacca, and in Java, Sumatra and other East Indian Islands, and had trading posts at other points. Some of these possessions were lost in the course of the long struggle with the British, a maritime people based on a larger homeland, which is moreover protected against continental armies by twenty miles of sea as compared with three miles or so of estuary and flooded fen. Yet even to-day the area of the oversea possessions of Holland is more than seven hundred thousand square miles, or sixty times the area of the homeland, with a population, mostly coloured, which is estimated to be six times that of the imperial race.

After the revolt of 1579 Amsterdam grew rapidly in population and importance. The States of Holland were the predominant element in the States General of the United Netherlands, but the city corporations were also powerful, and the representatives of Amsterdam were the predominant factor in the States of Holland. It is only in comparatively recent times that Rotterdam has rivalled Amsterdam. When the French created the Batavian Republic in 1795 Amsterdam was declared the capital. It had long been not only the commercial capital but, as has been pointed out, a direct political power in the State. It is still the most populous city, and is generally referred to as the capital, of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, although the Court resides and the States General meet at the Hague. The change in position of the reputed capital from the head of the Delta, where Dordrecht was

founded, to the sea is obviously connected with the fact that the Dutch had become an ocean-faring people and that their principal service was not the Army but the Navy. A point which requires examination is why the headquarters of the Dutch as an oceanic power grew at Amsterdam on the Zuider Zee rather than at Rotterdam on the northern distributary of the Rhine, equally with Amsterdam a position in Holland proper. The reason assigned, no doubt correctly, is the greater defensibility of Amsterdam. It must be recollected that the rise of the city took place during the great struggle of the long War of Independence. In the early stage of that war Rotterdam was captured by the Spaniards. Amsterdam was attacked in vain, the city being protected against the land attacks by flooding the surrounding country. This was the great advantage as compared with Rotterdam. Difference of distance from Spanish bases had practically nothing to do with the matter. The total distance between the cities is only about thirty-six miles, and if we look at the actual lines of approach for troops we see that the real difference of distance is much less. In fact, from Kuilenburg on the Lek, the distance is the same to either city. From the time when the Dutch acquired oversea possessions, the principal seaport became not only a connection with foreign countries but the chief junction of the domestic communications of the Empire. As in the case of the United Kingdom, the commercial capital of the country is a seaport, and in this connection it should be noted that no other continental nation of Europe has so large a proportion of its wealth overseas.

THE CAPITAL OF DENMARK

The Teutonic tribes in the country between the Main, Rhine, and Elbe, were not subdued by the Romans or displaced by Slavs. The Saxons held on to the eastern side of the Elbe estuary also. Thence northward the Cimric peninsula (the modern Schleswig and Jutland), the Danish islands, and the southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, whose

position provided protection from foreign pressure during the age of migrations, were never abandoned by the Teutonic peoples.

In order to appreciate the former political importance of the island of Seeland, on which Copenhagen is situated, it is necessary for the reader to put out of his mind for the present the national designations "Swedes" and "Norwegians," for we must go back to times when these words either did not exist or had a very different significance from that which they now bear. The Danish is the oldest existing government in Europe. People, language, and metropolitan district (the island of Seeland) have remained unchanged since the sixth century, and perhaps from before the Christian era. For the period from about 450 A.D. to 520 A.D. there happens to be definite documentary information.¹ At the latter date the State of Denmark consisted of three parts; first, Vitheslaeth, comprising Seeland with the islands of Möen, Falster, and Laaland, between which the straits are less than a mile wide; second, Jutland with Fuen, an island which is separated from the mainland at the Fredericia Strait by a gap of less than a mile, but between which and Seeland is the Great Belt, a channel ten miles wide; third, Scania on the mainland of the Scandinavian peninsula separated from Seeland by the Sound, which at Helsingör contracts to a channel three miles across. This territory comprised the modern districts of Halland, Kristianstad, Malmöhus and Blekinge, which together have an area of seven thousand four hundred square miles, the size of Wales. Seeland with its adjacent islands has an area of about three thousand four hundred square miles which is nearly equal to that of the English counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Jutland, with Fuen and the smaller island of Langeland, has an area of about eleven thousand square miles which is nearly equal to that of modern Belgium. The Danish kings had to be separately acknowledged at Lund in Scania and Viborg

¹ See H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, p. 146.

in Jutland, as well as Ringsted, in Seeland, but the centre of government was from time immemorial in Seeland. Here was situated the holy place of Lejre dating back to those dim days when the national sanctuary was the precursor of a political capital. Lejre was also, according to tradition, a royal seat of older establishment than Ringsted.¹ Thus the facts accord with the tradition that Dan, the eponymous ancestor of the Danes, acquired both Jutland and Scania, in other words that both these larger, continental districts were won by the Seelanders operating from their central, insular, territory. The myths relating to an ancient sanctuary in Seeland show the very early importance of the island as a Teutonic centre, and it is therefore well to see what its value and attraction would be to the Teutonic tribes on their first approach to this neighbourhood. It should be premised that the distribution of the Lapp and Finn populations indicates that the Teutonic people reached Scandinavia by way of the south coast of the Baltic. Of all the Baltic islands Seeland is much the largest. It is a detached portion of the North European Plain, and very fertile, whereas a large proportion of the neighbouring mainland on the south is naturally barren. Moreover it is warm, relatively to the latitude, the mean annual temperature at Copenhagen, 46.6° Fahrenheit, being equal to that at Lübeck which is more than one hundred miles to the south, and higher than that of Danzig. Whether approached from south or west the island stepping-stones to Seeland are visible from the continent, and Seeland itself from the intermediate islands. Once reached, the advantages of Seeland for the original headquarters of a maritime State under the conditions of boat navigation must have quickly become apparent. They could, indeed, hardly have been surpassed. Not only is the island remarkably fertile, but its area was suitable for the purpose. Under the

¹ See H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, note p. 267. "*Caput istius regni, Lederun nomine . . .*" Spruner-Menke's Atlas marks Lethra, near Roskilde, where Stieler marks Ledreborg.

conditions of the time an island as large as Great Britain was of continental dimensions, except in the hands of a great government such as that of Rome having command of mechanical arts. And even if a more primitive people had succeeded in uniting the whole of so large an island as Great Britain they would probably have ceased to be predominantly maritime, for most of the population, in the absence of paved roads, would not have been in economic touch with the coast. The Anglo-Saxons in Great Britain did not in fact have a sea-faring life. In Seeland, however, there can scarcely be found a spot which is more than fifteen miles from the shore.

Northward was the Scandinavian peninsula, then very sparsely inhabited by backward people, with an area of three hundred thousand square miles. This lay far beyond the frontier of the Roman Empire and in colder latitudes than those to which the Mediterranean people cared to extend their rule. Its land connection with the main area of Eurasia extends but little below 66° N. Lat., where the mean annual temperature is that of the freezing point, and the approach thereto from the east is across a region of coniferous forest. Thus the Scandinavian peninsula occupied a site effectually protected from the mounted hordes which in the fifth century of our era roamed over several million square miles of unsettled Steppe country north of the frontier of the civilized States. Its eastern coast is partly, its western wholly, fringed with festoons of small islands, which were valuable as an assistance to the extension of a maritime people, since they protected their boats from the waves by day and gave the crews a bivouac protected from attack by night.

On the whole of the long eastern shore of the Scandinavian peninsula the best inlet to the land is the Saltsjö, a sea channel nearly forty miles long connected by a short river almost devoid of current with lake Mälär, whose waters, barely two feet above sea level, extend seventy miles further inland. On the shores of this lake have been situated the successive

capitals of Sweden, Birka, Sigtuna, Upsala, and, finally Stockholm at the meeting place of the lake and the fjord. Lake Mälär is twice the size of the lake of Geneva, and the country sloping down to it has an area of seven thousand seven hundred square miles, not including the small lakes, that is to say a land-area equal to that of Wales. The communities established here at an early date spoke the same language as that of the people of Seeland which was called by both the *Dönsk tunga*, that is the Danish tongue. The intimate connection of these two nurseries of nationality is recognized in a legend which could hardly have arisen if the shores of Lake Mälär had been reached and developed from the interior. The legend¹ is that the goddess Gefion ploughed a piece of land of which the sod formed the island of Seeland and Lake Mälär was the furrow which was left. Thus is the equivalence of the two metropolitan districts ingeniously expressed.

The shores of Lake Mälär are much further than Seeland from the Roman frontier, but the situation was not much more remote for Mediterranean commerce in Roman times on account of the circumstance that the most valuable export from the northern shores of Europe was amber, that this is chiefly a product of the Baltic coast, and that its principal occurrence here is in the promontory of Samland, between the Frische Haf and the Kurische Haf near the modern port of Königsberg in East Prussia. It would not, perhaps, be an exaggeration to compare the amber trade between this coast and the Mediterranean by the Vistula route with the modern trade in diamonds between South Africa and Europe. It is therefore significant of the comparative accessibility of Seeland and Lake Mälär in Roman times that the distances between them and Samland is the same. About halfway to Lake Mälär lies the island of Gotland and half way to Seeland that of Bornholm, on each of which extensive finds of

¹ In the Ynglinga Saga, see H. M. Chadwick, *The Origin of the English Nation*, pp. 258-9.

Roman coins have been made, whereas hardly any have been found in Norway.

With the fall of the Roman Empire of the West a considerable change took place in the relative conditions of the Baltic and North Sea coasts. The Goths, and other Germanic tribes related to the Scandinavians, abandoned the Baltic shores to the barbarous Slavs, thus impoverishing trade, whilst on the other hand the collapse of Roman authority on the shores of the North Sea opened economic opportunities of the predatory kind. Settlement on the western shore of the Scandinavian peninsula from the Danish homeland became of increasing importance. On this side of Seeland the best entrance to the Scandinavian peninsula is the Christiania fjord at the head of the great gulf known as the Skagerrack. From the fjord there runs inland in the same northward direction the principal valley of this part of the country, that of the river Glommen extending to within sixty miles of the Trondhjem fjord. Thence the water parting is crossed at a height of rather more than two thousand feet, and the Trondhjem fjord reached by the Guldalen, the valley of the river Gul. Capitals of States were formed at Trondhjem and on the Christiania fjord. The latter was moved up until it was finally fixed at the head of this fjord at the site first called Oslo, but later given the name of Christiania. The distance by railway between Christiania and Trondhjem is three hundred and eighty-four miles.

Of the great deeds of the earlier Viking Northmen it cannot be accurately estimated how many were the feats of dwellers on the fjords which we now call Norwegian and how many were achieved from the coasts we now call Danish. The family names appear to have been the same. Later on the expeditions based on the Norwegian coasts took a new character, being conducted across the open sea to distant lands such as the Orkneys, Iceland and Greenland. The fjords of Norway, mostly backed by high and barren lands, screened in front by rocky islands, with great fishing grounds beyond,

only small agricultural areas adjacent, and with bad intercommunication by land, were ideal bases for warlike migration by sea. The times moreover preceding the period of castle-building in western Europe were still favourable to the sea rover, and the topography of Europe is more favourable than that of any other part of the world to this form of warfare and warlike settlement. The art of castle-building advanced greatly on the continent during the eleventh century. When the continental resistance was stiffened by feudal organization, with local levies and a network of forts on which these levies were based, the palmy days of the Vikings were over.

When the Baltic lands once more became commercially important, the territory which comprised all the passages from the North Sea had an increased commercial and strategic advantage, thus promoting the pre-eminence of Copenhagen among Scandinavian capitals. At one time the Danish *Rigsraad* exercised sovereignty over Norway, and later when Norway was in legislative equality with Denmark the seat of the common sovereign was still Copenhagen. Similarly when all three Scandinavian kingdoms were united under one Crown in A.D. 1397 Copenhagen remained the royal capital. The position of Copenhagen is intermediate between Stockholm and Christiania by the sea route, and before the development of metalled roads and railways the sea route was the best. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century did the territory ruled from Copenhagen begin to shrink. Then the Swedes acquired Scania and a portion of the Norwegian coast on the east side of the Kattegat. The frontier between the present kingdoms of Sweden and Norway lies much nearer to Christiania than to Stockholm. There is little, if any, difference of race to be invoked as possibly accounting for advantage on one side or the other, but it is evident that the agricultural resources conveniently accessible from Stockholm are much greater than those equally accessible from Christiania, and it is in accordance with this fact that the State which formed around the former nucleus had more

men and material than that formed around the latter. The boundary between the present kingdoms of Sweden and Norway only follows the chine of the mountain range which traverses the length of the Scandinavian peninsula in the narrower and less fertile northern part. In the more important portion of the peninsula south of a line drawn from Trondhjem across the peninsula perpendicular to its axis, the crest-line of the mountains is close to the west coast and considerably to the west of Christiania, which with the whole of the fertile Glommen valley is on the eastern slope. The course of the rivers and of the ribbon-shaped lakes does, indeed, impede transverse communications near that part of the Swedish-Norwegian frontier which lies on a direct line between Stockholm and Christiania, but the obstructions are not of a dominating character.

The separation of Norway from the Danish crown in 1814 was the penalty of failure in the cause Denmark supported in the Napoleonic wars, her fleet being defeated by that of Great Britain, which in the process of geographical development had become a more potent naval base. Subsequently in 1864 the Danish kingdom lost a part of its continental territories, including a small portion occupied by a Danish-speaking people, to States of large continental area whose resources had by this time been greatly developed. Thus the Danish kingdom has shrunk towards the original nucleus, the isle of Seeland. As Storehouse, Stronghold and Crossways, Danish Seeland combined all the physical qualifications for the metropolitan district of an Empire during the centuries when the dimensions of the island were politically adequate and the Baltic and North Sea still provided full scope for a mercantile marine ; and Copenhagen is the only insular capital from which considerable possessions are still held on the continent of Europe. If the continental were the only approaches of importance, the typical position for the capital of the Danish Empire of Scandinavia would have been the Cimric peninsula, but the sea is a common highway, and the most

important foreign approach was that to the shore of Seeland the chief connecting island.

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN RUSSIA

KIEV

A line of communication was opened up at an early date from the eastern shore of the Scandinavian peninsula across the country now called Russia to the Black Sea. The Gulf of Finland is not far from the Scandinavian shore and navigation was facilitated by a chain of islands. From the head of the Gulf boat communication with the Black Sea is only interrupted by one or two comparatively short portages. Its line is by the Neva, Lake Ladoga, the Volkov and Ilmen, and thereafter by the river Dnieper. We know from records that the route was used by Scandinavians in the ninth century *Anno Domini* and it may have been similarly used for trade with Greek ports on the Black Sea at a very much earlier date. In the ninth century Scandinavian Princes were invited by Slavonic communities, that of Novgorod on the Ilmen leading, to undertake political organization, and they became rulers of a Slavonic Kingdom which was known by the Scandinavian name "Russian." The principal capital was Kiev and the main avenue of communication from north to south.

VLADIMIR, MOSCOW, AND PETROGRAD

Measured along the twentieth meridian of east longitude, which passes through the old Polish capital of Cracow, the width of the European plain from the north-eastern Carpathians to the promontory of Samland in East Prussia is about three hundred and fifty miles. Going eastwards it rapidly widens, the breadth measured along the thirty-fifth meridian from the Sea of Azof to the White Sea being twelve hundred miles. Between the northern Carpathians and the southern shore of the Baltic the natural covering of the ground is deciduous forest, but further east there is a threefold division

of natural vegetation. Beyond the Carpathians the southern part is grassy steppe, in the middle latitudes deciduous forest, in which the oak predominates while the beech is no longer represented, and in the northern latitudes coniferous forest, giving place near the Arctic ocean to mossy plains called Tundra. The climate becomes less oceanic and increasingly continental as we proceed eastwards, the lines of annual rainfall trending to the north-east and the annual, and, more particularly, the winter, isotherms trending to the south-east, so that the steppe lands and the coniferous forest approach one another, whilst the belt of oak forest, which is very broad between the Gulfs of Odessa and Finland, continually narrows towards the east.

The northern margin of the steppe country¹, which is the southern limit of the deciduous forest, runs from a little below the junction of the Desna with the Dnieper, the site of Kiev, parallel to the Desna, and then between that river and its left bank tributary the Seim. Thence its course nearly follows the watershed between the tributaries of the Oka and the Don, and is thereafter nearly parallel to the right bank of the Oka and of the Volga until the latter river bends southwards, when the margin of the steppe country crosses it at the junction with the river Kama. North-west of this line, on its forested side, are the ancient Russian towns of Novgorod-Seversk on the Desna; Kaluga, Ryazan and Murom on the Oka; and Nijni Novgorod, which was founded later, at the junction of the Oka and Volga. The town of Kazan stands on the Volga north of the junction with the Kama within the narrow eastern prolongation of the deciduous forest.

The boundary between the deciduous and coniferous forest, marking the northern limit of agricultural fertility, runs from Viborg bay on the Gulf of Finland to the south shores of Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega. Thence it runs south-east by the

¹ The authority here followed is Berghaus' *Physical Atlas*, Plate 47.

eastern shore of Lake Bielo, and afterwards maintains a course generally parallel with that of the Volga at a distance of about seventy miles from its left bank, finally reaching the Kama at about that distance from its junction with the Volga. Further east the coniferous forest abuts on the steppes, the deciduous forest being pinched out between their approaching boundaries owing to the increasingly continental character of the climate. In the northern parts of the east-pointing wedge of land naturally covered by deciduous forest lay the ancient Russian cities of Novgorod-the-Great, Rostov (on a right bank tributary of the Volga) Suzdal and Vladimir.

During the centuries when the present European nationalities were being formed the Steppe region was dominated by the nomadic horsemen who had their principal homes of origin in Asia, and even the fertile Black-earth region was reserved by them for grazing, and therefore not available for the agricultural peoples of European race. The beginning of settlement in the deciduous forest was probably facilitated by the food which it provided for wild game as well as by the use of the acorn as food for swine, but this is a stage which belongs mainly to the period preceding that in which we first hear of "Russians." In their occupation of the districts where we find them from the ninth to the twelfth centuries these Slavonic tribes with a Scandinavian name were pushing eastward into lands already inhabited by more backward peoples, making agricultural settlements centred on fortified towns of a primitive type.

The beginning of the coniferous forest marks the limit where climate, or soil, or both make the country less suitable for agriculture.

The Russian dominions did not extend to the coast of the Baltic except at the head of the Gulf of Finland, the territory of the present States of Esthonia and Latvia round the Gulf of Riga being held from oversea by Scandinavians and Germans. The Poles and Lithuanians, forest people like the

Russians, were situated where the forested plain narrows as we go westward owing to the approach of the Baltic coast and the Carpathian mountains. In the case of all these peoples the deciduous forests did not form barriers to settlement, rather they mark the districts suitable for agriculture. Mountain barriers there are none, and the borderlands, or broad frontiers between settlements, were the regions of swamp, which are still somewhat extensive and are known from records to have been considerably larger and more formidable a thousand years ago. There is however a curious diversity in the distribution of the swamps in the western and eastern parts of the country which extends from the Oder to the junction of the Volga and Oka. Flatness of surface, it is true, is a chief factor throughout, but in the west the flat surfaces are low-lying, whereas towards the east it is the high ground of the Valdai hills or plateau and their vicinity which is almost level. Here, where the melting snow sinks in and waterlogs the ground, the great rivers of Russia originate in swamps before they collect in definite channels to make their radiating ways to the Gulfs of Finland and Riga, the Caspian and the Black Seas. This is a characteristic of the country of the Great Russians, and these upland swamps divided their communities. The rivers which gather to a head in the plateau-swamps presently form deep valleys, cutting through the glacial clay with which much of the ground is covered, draining the country, and providing navigable waterways, which in the earliest times were the chief means of transporting goods. Their valleys became the chief seat of agricultural supplies, and both on this account and because of the firm and relatively dry ground they were in many cases the lines followed in later times by land traffic.

It will be noticed that the lines which we have already indicated along which the boundaries of the steppe and the coniferous forest converge towards the east run for a considerable distance near, and parallel to, the Oka and Volga rivers.

Along these two great waterways from the points where, after approaching one another, each turns eastward, and thence as far as their junction, Russian colonization early established two chains of towns.¹ On the Volga the chain extended from Rshév to Nijni Novgorod, on the Oka from Kaluga by Ryazan to Murom. It will be noticed that from Rshév to beyond Tver, and from Kaluga to Kalomna, the Volga and Oka follow parallel courses distant about one hundred and forty miles from one another, afterwards diverging until the distance between them is twice as great, to meet ultimately at a point about three hundred and sixty miles east of Rshév. The large Mesopotamian region, known as the Mezhduriechié, is of pretty good agricultural quality and was settled at a steady and fairly rapid rate by the two streams of immigrant Russians. Both the records and the distribution of present dialects show the northern to have been much the larger of the two streams.

The distinguishing names in early Russian geography are generally those of rivers or towns, but in this district a recurrent expression is "the land of Suzdal." This land of Suzdal is called by Krapotkin the *isle de France* of Russia. Suzdal was also the name of a town on a small left-bank tributary which enters the Klyasma near the middle of the latter's course, and the land of Suzdal may be taken as essentially the valley of the Klyasma. This river has a course of one hundred and sixty miles, which is the same length as the Thames from its source to London Bridge. Its drainage area is great in proportion, namely fifteen thousand square miles, which is nearly three times as great as that of the Thames. Starting from a point midway between the Volga and Oka before their divergence, the Klyasma finally joins the Oka forty miles from the junction of the latter river with the Volga. On the Klyasma a few miles from the town of Suzdal the city of Vladimir was founded in the twelfth century and became, about 1150 A.D.,

¹ *History of Russia*, by Kluchevsky, translated by C. J. Hogarth, vol. I, p. 273.

the residence of the chief Prince of these parts, who was known from his capital as the grand-duke of Vladimir, though his subjects were known as men of the land of Suzdal. To Vladimir also came the Metropolitan of the Russian Church, formerly established in Kiev, a circumstance which attests the supremacy claimed for the principality of Vladimir among the many associated principalities of the Mezhduriechië, or Mesopotamia, of the Volga and Oka. Vladimir, the seat of the Grand Duchy, was a connecting position between the more ancient cities of Rostov and Suzdal on the north and the city of Murom on the Oka to the south, also more ancient than Vladimir, which had connections with southern Russia. At the time of the institution of Vladimir as a capital the White Bulgarians and the Mordvinians on the east were being pushed back, but only slowly, and it was not until A.D. 1221 that the junction of the Oka and Volga was finally won and Nijni Novgorod founded. This town became the great market for the exchange of goods from the East, and to it the government of Vladimir deflected as much as possible of the traffic from the more northern route through the colonial dominions of the republic of Novgorod-the-Great, the ancient trading town on the river Volkov below Lake Ilmen.

A map of the natural vegetation shows that beyond the eastern terminal of the Grand duchy of Vladimir, as the union of the Mesopotamian states of East Russia is called at this stage of development, the belt of deciduous forest, although much narrowed, continues along the eastern course of the Volga, a district therefore which both on account of its water-way and its suitability for agriculture seems inviting for early Russian settlement. But about two hundred and twenty miles from Nijni Novgorod in a direct line the Volga is joined by its great navigable confluent the Kama, flowing westward from the Urals. From the point of junction the combined streams turn south and flow to the Caspian. This rectangular junction of great waterways provided so advantageous a centre that an organized community of an Eastern people,

the White Bulgarians, established there at an early date a State of considerable solidity and power. Hence in the thirteenth century Nijni Novgorod and not Kazan was the furthest eastern city of the most eastern capital of a European nation.

The Russian Republics centred in the cities of Pskov and Novgorod-the-Great were middlemen between the merchant seamen of the Baltic, organized in the Hanse confederation, and the northern interior of Eurasia. Novgorod-the-Great, with more open access eastward than Pskov, extended its colonial settlements far to the east, so that it appears in historical maps as ruling a great area; but the population of this region must have been extremely small, and, indeed, is still very sparse.

The irruption of the Mongols or Tartars which followed not long after the establishment of Nijni-Novgorod affected the different districts of Russian settlement in different ways. The older Novgorod, the capital of the Novgorod republic, protected on the east by extensive marshes, was not overwhelmed. Kiev and other capital cities of the south-east were captured. The West-Russian State of Galicia, with its capital at Halicz on the Dniester and therefore more distant from the new Tartar capital of Sarai on the Volga, remained outside the Tartar dominion and became united by dynastic arrangement with the non-Russian State of Lithuania and Poland. Lithuania, of which the capital was Vilna, attained a great dominion in the fourteenth century. Before the end of this century it was dynastically joined to Poland by a union of the crowns, forming a dual Empire. It was the efforts of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and Polish Kingdom, not of the native Russians, which expelled the Tartars from the districts of Smolensk, Kiev, and South-eastern Russia generally. Consequently the extensive empire acquired by the Lithuanians and Poles was largely Russian in population.

We now come to the region with which we are more especially concerned, the Mesopotamian *enclave* of the Volga

and Oka, called in Russian the *Mezhduriechié*, and described by Krapotkin as East Russia. At the time of the Mongol or Tartar invasion Vladimir was the overruling capital, the seat of the "Grand," or presiding, Duke and residence of the Metropolitan of Russia. This part of Russia, which in the earlier days of the Tartar supremacy is most conveniently described politically as the Grand Duchy of Vladimir, was conquered by Batu Khan, nephew of Jenghiz, whilst another Tartar general, Subatai, was subduing the White Bulgarians around the junction of the Volga and Kama. Crossing the Volga lower down, Batu Khan took a north-westerly direction between Tombov and Penza (thus following the general direction of the water-parting between Volga and Don, where the tributaries of the latter are relatively small streams) and on reaching the southern bend of the Oka, made the city of Ryazan his first objective in the Grand Duchy of Vladimir. It fell after five days assault. Moscow, then a small place, fell next, Vladimir being attacked later, and taken after a fierce assault of several days' duration. This order of conquest is significant in relation to the ultimate transfer of dominion from the city of Vladimir to that of Moscow. Although there was an ancient political connection between the cities of Ryazan and Murom the communication was probably by water. Even to-day there are extensive swamps in the great bend of the Oka east of Ryazan and the significance of that city-site throughout most of its history seems to be quite as much connected with the north-westerly route from the steppes towards Novgorod-the-Great, that is towards the Gulf of Finland, as with the eastward navigation of the Oka. That it was the outpost on the Tartar frontier is suggested by the fact that the city was besieged by this people seven times.

For one hundred and forty years the land between the Oka and Volga was definitely subordinate to the Tartar Khan who ruled at Sarai. It was another hundred years before it became definitely independent in 1480. It is important to

understand the character of the dependence. The Tartars of the Golden Horde, following the precept of Jenghiz, did not settle beyond the steppes, and lived only where they could bring up their sons as cavalrymen. Therefore they did not occupy the country between the Oka and Volga. Moreover the Tartars, unlike the Moslem Arabs in their days of conquest aimed only at material domination and did not seek to impose any mode of thought upon subject people. Their rule in the region with which we are concerned was not, however, a shadowy supremacy, for it involved the punctual payment of a considerable imperial taxation taken by the ruling race for their own enjoyment and not expended in the country where it was collected. At first the revenue was gathered by Tartar agents, but afterwards the Russian Princes undertook the task, which tended more and more to become concentrated in the hands of one Prince responsible for the tributes of all. This favoured the development of princely power in East Russia relatively to that of city, or other, councils, and also favoured the development of the preponderating power of a suzerain prince. Both the peculiar conditions of succession to the princely status in Russia and the complete discretionary power of the Tartar Khan as to the selection of the collector, or farmer, of the tribute, made the transfer of the seat of the chief, or suzerain, Prince easier than in Western Europe. Such a transfer occurred in 1328 when the region which previously could be best described, politically, as the Grand-Duchy of Vladimir became known as the Grand-Duchy of Moscow. That this transfer reflected the results of a change which had come about in the national connections of the cities Vladimir and Moscow respectively is witnessed by the fact that at almost the same time the Metropolitan transferred the religious headquarters of Orthodox Russia from the former to the latter city.

We must think of Mesopotamian East Russia from the middle of the thirteenth to near the end of the fourteenth century as a satrapy of the Tartar Empire of Kipchak or "the

Golden Horde." In the fifteenth century we find its rulers asserting and obtaining independence of the Empire of which it had been a tributary state, but we must not infer from this that they had been so struggling all the time. On the contrary, it was the armed forces of Tartar cavalry, placed by the Kipchak emperor at the disposal of a Prince who proved himself punctual and efficient as a tributary, which enabled that Prince to dominate neighbouring principalities, to aggrandize East Russia at the expense of neighbouring Russian republics, particularly Novgorod-the-Great, and to contend with the rising power of Lithuania, now conquering other Russian lands from the west.

It is necessary also to be on our guard against a misconception of the relations between the States capitalled at Moscow and Vilna respectively. The latter, it is true, was winning back Russian lands from the Asiatics who were overlords of East Russia, and who were, moreover, not Christians. The Tartars however did not interfere with Christianity, whereas the Lithuanians on their conversion from heathendom had become Roman Catholics, so that there was a sectarian antagonism between them and the Russians. Moreover, the Tartar power had waned since the victory won in 1380 at Kulikovo near the sources of the river Don by a confederacy of the East Russian princes under the leadership of the Prince of Moscow. Indeed such a Power has of necessity a limited lease, for the rulers of the steppes undertook no economic development of their own national territory and did nothing towards developing the resources of their neighbouring dependencies, whilst taxing those resources for the purpose of luxurious expenditure.

Everything considered, therefore, the following facts emerge with reference to the frontiers of East Russia when the power of the Kipchak Empire was declining but had not yet fallen. The southern approach to the western entrance of the Mezhdurechië was the principal part of the Tartars' frontier, since by this route only could their cavalry avoid the barrier of the

great rivers Oka and Volga. The country near the left bank of the Volga was the frontier with the Republic of Novgorod-the-Great. Between Novgorod city and the great elbow of the Upper Volga this frontier was naturally strong owing to marshes. Beyond the left bank of that part of the river which flows in a south-easterly direction from its most northerly point to the junction with the Oka the population was very scanty. Moreover Novgorod was never comparable as a military power to the great States of Europe. Thus the principal foreign frontier of Eastern Russia was now the Lithuanian, that is to say the western entrance to the Mesopotamian region between the courses of the Volga and Oka where those rivers follow parallel channels at a distance from one another of about one hundred and forty miles. Moscow stands half-way between the rivers, so that it is entirely in accordance with the events we have traced in other lands that the capital should be advanced from Vladimir, which had now fallen into the background, to Moscow near what had now become the principal defensive frontier. Much, however, which is of strategic and other interest can be learnt by examining in detail the physical conditions which were influential in fixing the capital where Moscow stands and not at some other position along the western entrance of the Mesopotamian region. The ancient city Ryazan, for instance, though less central in the frontier, had the advantage of being nearer the south-eastern frontier which frequently had to be defended against the Tartars. Tver, also an ancient city and the seat of a strong political establishment, was in the western borderland, and, although not central therein, had strategic importance in relation to the routes to Novgorod-the-Great. We may begin the examination of the advantages which ultimately made Moscow pre-eminent by turning our attention to a route which must inevitably have been followed by an increasing trade after the establishment of Nijni-Novgorod at the junction of the Oka and Volga in 1221, seventy-four years after the date when Moscow is first mentioned in history. The

trade to and from the East by way of Nijni-Novgorod was in rivalry with that of Novgorod-the-Great. The best way for this traffic to enter and leave the Mesopotamian district on its route to western Europe lay evidently south of the great swamp which is situated north-west of the town of Tver in the elbow of the Volga, and north of the swampy district which lies in the bend of the Oka east of the town of Ryazan. Thus the traffic would not be likely to follow a line further south than that through Kalomna at the junction of the Moskva and Oka. Nor would it be likely to follow a route further north than Volokolamsk (about sixty miles south of Tver) which took its rise as a depot of Great Novgorod in a position related to a route avoiding swamps to that city.

Moscow, equidistant from Kolomna and Volokolamsk, and on the natural route between them, is on the straight route from Nijni-Novgorod to Smolensk, and therefore to Vilna, Warsaw and Cracow. The watershed between Moscow and Smolensk is comparatively dry, partly perhaps owing to accidents in the distribution of deposits of the somewhat recent ice-age, a good deal of the district being strewn with boulders. The comparatively narrow ridge of high ground from the neighbourhood of Smolensk to that of Warsaw, between the affluents of the Dnieper and the rivers which flow to the Baltic, is also sufficiently dry, the swamps being along the lower courses of the rivers on either hand. The extensive basin of the Pripet, a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper is naturally so swampy that it was formerly one of the principal barriers to communication in eastern Europe. These facts help to explain the importance of the line from Moscow to Smolensk as a link in a trade route from Siberia and the Caspian region to central Europe by way of Kazan and Nijni-Novgorod.

Moscow stands where the river Moskva, from which it takes its name, turns from an eastern to a south-eastern course. The latter portion is navigable, and thus prolongs the south-

east to north-west navigation of the Oka above Ryazan. The north-western direction of waterway is continued above Moscow, not indeed by the Moskva itself but by its left-bank tributary the Istra. From this a short portage leads to the Lama, a tributary of the Volga, and here was early established the trading depot of Volokolamsk to which reference has already been made.¹ If we recall the position of the great swamps north-west of the town of Tver and the considerable tract of swamp in the bend of the Oka east of the town of Ryazan, we see that Moscow stands on a line of communication between the steppes and the Gulf of Finland, both by boat and by the land-way which follows the true right bank of the Oka in the south-eastern part of its course.

Thus far-reaching trade routes almost at right angles to one another were constrained by the obstruction of swamps and the convenience of waterways to an intersection at or near the point where the Moskva begins its south-eastern course. Such far-reaching connections only began to produce their full effect when certain developments in distant countries had set going a great trade. The local developments due to such distant causes may well have been surprising, and even inexplicable, to those of the inhabitants or neighbours whose attention was given mainly to local resources and production. A story written in the seventeenth century, quoted in the *History of Russia* to which reference has just been made, contains this reflection, "What man ever thought or divined that Moscow would become a kingdom."²

In 1303 the principality of Moscow was a belt of country reaching from the Oka up to, or nearly up to, the Volga, sixty or seventy miles broad from north-east to south-west and about one hundred and thirty miles from south-east to north-west. It comprised both banks of the Moskva from Kolomna at its junction with the Oka up to the turn in the river's course

¹ See *History of Russia*, by Kluchevsky, translated by C. J. Hogarth, vol. I, p. 275.

² p. 274, *loc. cit.*

where Moscow stands. It did not extend to the source of the Moskva¹ which is about ninety miles west of Moscow, but comprised some of the northern tributaries of the river and the head waters of the Klyasma the central artery of the Mezhduriechië. Its local resources were those derived from the cultivation of the lower part of the Moskva valley and the valleys of some of its northern tributaries. For external commerce it had the advantage of the distant connections already referred to, which respectively followed and crossed the lower course of the Moskva. Strategically its outstanding character is that of a frontier principality of the Mezhduriechië traversed by the best communications between its chief centres of supply and early capitals and Lithuania, the rising European power on the west. The dynastic and political history connected with the passing of the name Grand-Duchy of Vladimir and the new distinction attaching to the term Muskovy has its own interest and value, but it is unnecessary to follow it here, for the strategic relation of Vladimir and Moscow in the fourteenth and fifteenth century is sufficiently evident from the geographical details we have given, read in connection with the previous examples of transference of capital. The seat of power moved to a common junction of the home communications with those leading across the principal defensive frontier. The strategic position of the basin of the Moskva in the fifteenth century is well illustrated by the boundary with Lithuania as fixed by treaty in 1449, after war. This ran north-west from the bend of the Oka near Kaluga between the head-waters of the Moskva and the Dnieper, and between the upper course of the Volga and that of the southern Dwina.

The republic of Novgorod-the-Great, which had no base of agricultural supply nearly equal to the Mezhduriechië of Muskovy, was finally subdued by the rulers of Moscow in 1478 A.D.

Hitherto it had been the usual fate of empires to suffer attack from more northern lands which attained development at a

¹ See Map in Krapotkin's article on *Russia* in *Chambers' Encyclopædia*.

later time. But the homeland of the Czardom of Muskovy was the most northern fertile region of Europe, and the adjacent fertile forest region of southern Siberia where the rivers flow to the icy sea lay north of all developed lands and uncoveted by the nomadic Tartar horsemen of the steppes. Muskovy rapidly extended its dominion over the fertile plain of Western Siberia and across Eastern Siberia to the Pacific. It had thus the strategic advantage of an immense stretch of agricultural land unapproachable on the long northern frontier. The lowland part of Tartary was acquired later, and only by hard fighting, the result of which was determined by the rapid growth of the Russian population owing to the continual reclamation of cultivated land. Ultimately the upland regions of Tartary were ruled by the Manchurian Emperors from Peking and the lowlands by the Czars from Moscow. Of the country occupied by the Russians after the transfer of Grand-Duchy from Vladimir to Moscow that which has contributed most to the growth of Russian population is the fertile steppe adjacent to the forest land of Russia in Europe. Tens of millions of Russian people now occupy the lower valleys of the Dnieper and Don. Thus the Russians protected their Asiatic dominions against the Powers of central Europe by a rampart of men where nature had provided no natural barriers, as the Chinese along the Yellow River had established the barrier of a dense population between Tartary and the Yang-tze valley.

Until the time of Peter the Great the Russian Empire was still almost entirely a territory of the interior district of Eurasia, the region where the rivers, draining either to lakes or an icy sea, carry merchandise away from the navigable ocean, not towards it. Novgorod-the-Great, whose territory had been acquired long since by Muskovy, did not control the seaboard of the gulf of Finland, or provide fleets for her own merchandise, and it was only after a hard struggle with the neighbouring northern Power of Sweden that the Russian Empire won its footing on the Baltic. The seat of government was then

advanced to St. Petersburg, although Moscow remained the crowning place.

St. Petersburg, supplemented by other newly-acquired Baltic ports, fulfilled the commercial functions formerly carried out by Novgorod-the-Great as well as those by which the Hanse towns had supplemented the resources of Novgorod. The geographical relation between St. Petersburg and Moscow is easily discerned. The latter is the western terminal of the essentially continental communications of an Empire whose greatest extent is from East to West. St. Petersburg is the eastern terminal of the maritime communication with the Atlantic. The modern facilities of communication between them represent the old portages between the Volga and the Ilmen.

Russia-in-Europe is not deficient in those formations of the carboniferous age which contain the good coal which has been essential to the maintenance of political greatness throughout the nineteenth century. It has been an element of strength that much of the coal is in the neighbourhood of Moscow amidst the original population which founded the Empire, the eastern branch of the Great Russians, and beyond the reach of raids across the European frontier.

It should be noted that the position of Moscow with respect to the eastern and western frontiers was similar when the boundary with Lithuania was settled in 1449 to that in the Russian Empire at the accession of Peter the Great in 1689. The distance from the eastern was several times greater than that from the western front. It stood throughout in a central position with reference to the northern and southern frontiers. This conformity in the position of the city with reference to the frontiers throughout the centuries during which it was the capital of an expanding Empire is connected with the fact that the capital was instituted near the chief defensive frontier and that expansion was easier towards the rear. This is a cause which has operated also in other cases to prolong a city's tenure of the capital status.

Although the government departments since the time of Peter the Great were in St. Petersburg, Moscow did not decline, and has always been a rival city. The transfer of the Soviet government to Moscow is suggestive, for whereas Moscow has the disadvantage of distance from the sea, it is in a natural Storehouse of supplies, and St. Petersburg is not. [Appendix, note 5.]

The relation of Tartary to Muskovy

Before Peter the Great gained a footing on the Baltic and established a new capital on the Gulf of Finland, the Empire of the Czars was commonly called Muskovy, a term employed at the time when the word Tartary was also in general use. Muskovy was the country between Tartary and the Arctic ocean. Between the coast of this icy sea and the line of the mean annual isotherm of 28° Fahrenheit there is but a sparse population, almost all the developed resources being between the latter line and the frontier of Tartary. This intermediate district does not differ greatly in size from all of Tartary which lies north of the frontier of the ancient empires. These two adjacent regions are very different in vegetation but have one important character in common, namely that their rivers flow either into lakes or an icy sea. The form of the combined area approximately limited north and south by the isotherms of 28° and 48.5° Fahrenheit, is that of a long trapezium the limits of which are approximately as follows.

The western boundary extends from about 47° North Latitude, 27° East Longitude, not far from Jassy, to 65° North Latitude 45° East Longitude, not far from Archangel. The eastern boundary from 41° North Latitude, 115° East Longitude, near Kalgan, to 54° North Latitude 120° East Longitude between the Jablonoi and Khingan Mountains, near the water-parting of the Lena flowing to the Arctic Ocean and the Amur flowing to the Pacific. Manchuria, a country of foot-soldiers, is excluded from this reckoning of Tartary. In this trapezium Tartary has the form of a long triangle, based on the east and truncated at its western end. The latter extends

from 47° N. to 50° N., the northern point not far from Kiev. The eastern base extends to 50° N. 118° E. (near the Dalai-nor). Muskovy forms a triangle based on the west and truncated at its eastern end, which is that part of the eastern boundary of the trapezium extending from 54° N. to 50° N. The dividing line between Tartary and Muskovy does not precisely follow the parallel of 50° N. throughout, for, since rainfall diminishes with distance from the sea, the steppe country extends furthest north in the middle of the continent, reaching on the meridian of 75° E. to about 55° N.

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN THE SPANISH PENINSULA

The central and larger part of the Spanish peninsula is a high plateau or *meseta*,¹ consisting of extensive plains intersected by mountain ranges and consecutive heights. From the featureless appearance which the elevated plains present upon the map it seems at first as if their cities might arise almost anywhere, but the fact is far otherwise for they are determined by the position of passes over the mountains and of gorges descending the escarpments and steep descents to the lowlands. The high interior, or *meseta*, is composed of ancient rocks alike in the plain and Sierra, but the latter, geologists tell us, were ridged up in later times, as were the Sierra Nevada in the south and the longer and more lofty ranges of the north, known as the Pyrenees where they bound the peninsula (a range attaining eleven thousand feet) and the Cantabrian mountains further west. These last run in ranges of which the general, though not the individual, direction is parallel to the coast, protecting a narrow strip of land on the north. The Cantabrian mountains attain a maximum height of between eight and nine thousand feet in the Asturian ranges and, as in the more lofty Pyrenees, the passes are few and relatively high. The Pyrenees are separated from the lofty plateau of central Spain by the valley of the Ebro, of which the greater part is a depression

¹ A *meseta* is the landing at the head of a staircase.

structurally associated with the Pyrenees in much the same way as that of the Po is associated with the Alps, the valley of the Ganges with the Himalaya, and the Mesopotamian valley with the Zagros ranges and their continuations. From the valley of the Ebro we look upwards to a long line of heights on the south-west which here form the boundary of the interior plateau. They are sometimes called the Iberian mountains (the word Iberian being the same in origin as Ebro) sometimes the Iberian range. On some maps the line is marked as an escarpment. Although variously composed, they form a wall of considerable height and steepness. A somewhat important feature of the basin of the Ebro is the spur which projects south-west from the Pyrenees towards the Monte Moncayo near the centre of the Iberian heights, dividing the upper from the middle and lower course of the river. The broadest gap in the line of the Iberian heights is between the upper Ebro and two tributaries of the Douro, the Arlanzon and the Pisuerga, and the best route across the divide is by way of the Arlanzon, on which Burgos stands.

The Cantabrian range is not separated from the central plateau by an intervening depression, but abuts upon, and overlooks from an additional altitude of from three to five thousand feet, the *meseta*, which has here a height of about three thousand feet above sea level. The general level of the central highland decreases from north to south and from east to west, the long slope being from north-east to south-west, which is also the direction of the principal rivers originating here. On the west there is no declivity as marked as that which overlooks the valley of the Ebro, but there is a sudden steepening of the descent along a north-and-south line, where the rivers cut deep gorges, which, by their somewhat easier gradients, determine the lines of communication between the plateau and the coast lands of the west. The steep slope catches moisture from the Atlantic and dries the air to leeward, thus producing a belt of arid country which accentuates the separation of the coastal strip from the plateau.

The highest and longest series of ranges which traverses the *meseta* is that which crosses it centrally from south-west to north-east, of which the middle part is known as the Sierra de Guadarrama. This line of folding runs from Cap de Roca north of the Tagus estuary to the Monte Moncayo, to which reference has already been made, overlooking the valley of the Ebro. South of this greatest line of folding runs the longest and deepest depression of the plateau followed throughout the greater part of its length by the Tagus, the largest river of the Peninsula, which flows to the Atlantic. Following the same groove, but in the opposite direction, is the river Jalon which escapes from the plateau where Monte Moncayo stands on the left bank. It joins the middle Ebro where the latter river has already entered upon the wider part of its valley.

The Saracens crossed the Straits of Gibraltar at the beginning of the eighth century. Roderick the last Visigothic King of Spain was completely defeated in 711 A.D., and the invaders, sweeping north through the Peninsula, crossed the Pyrenees, but were defeated by the Franks at the battle of Tours in 732 A.D. and retired south of the range. The ancient Basque people preserved the independence of that part of their country lying in the Peninsula which slopes to the Bay of Biscay, comprising a coastline of seventy miles or more in direct length from the western end of the Pyrenees to a little beyond the harbour of Bilbao. This corner of country, comprised in the modern provinces of Guipuzcoa and Bilbao, lies behind the eastern parts of the Cantabrian ranges (connecting the Pyrenees with the western parts of the Cantabrians, the mountains of Asturias) which have a height of about five thousand feet at the peaks and about two thousand feet at the passes. The people here had maintained their independence of the Visigoths, and have never lost their autonomous rights. On the other hand their very ancient establishment, and the utter diversity of their language from Aryan speech, kept them from active participation in the reconquest of the rest of the Peninsula, so that this physically important corner, comprising the lowland

route round the west end of the Pyrenees, became a political barrier between the Pyrenean and Asturian fronts of the crusading Christians. The former was organized by the Franks, Charlemagne establishing a *Marca Hispanica* south of the main range of the Pyrenees. This is in accordance with the approved practice of strong States upon an unsettled border, it being better from the military point of view to hold the ascending entrance of mountain passes than to guard their descending exit. The Pyrenees moreover have a structure which facilitates the establishment of a defensive line south of the main ridge but which does not facilitate the establishment of a corresponding line north of the range as the frontier of a power ruling the Peninsula. North of the main crest lateral spurs project into the plain. The area of the declivity which lies south of the main crest-line is twice as great as that on the north, and is characterized by long folds running generally parallel to the main range. Consequently the rivers which descend southwards from the main range traverse walled-in valleys, and finally escape by narrow outlets in barrier ranges. The frontier of the *Marca Hispanica* established by Charlemagne at the beginning of the ninth century appears to have coincided with this line of heights, with its narrow and steep gateways.¹ The usual distance from the crest-line of the Pyrenees is about forty miles. The line coincides approximately with the three-thousand foot contour of the generalized orographical maps of the peninsula. The capital of the March was Barcelona, the frontier running south-east along the Montserrat hills to include this advanced position. The port is only one hundred and ninety-three nautical miles by sea from Marseilles, and has lowland communication with the valley of the Aude round the eastern end of the Pyrenees. This was the main connection with the lands north of that range. The length of the frontier reckoned in a direct line from Barcelona to the pass of Idiazabal on the border of the modern Basque province of Guipuzcoa is two hundred and fifty miles, thence to the peak of Tornos on

¹ See Spruner-Menke, *Historical Atlas*, Plate 30.

the west of the modern Basque province of Biscay is sixty miles. From the peak of Tornos to Coruña is two hundred and fifty miles, so that the Cantabrian frontier of the Visigothic remnant at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century was the same length as the Frankish frontier as established by Charlemagne. The combined Christian frontier from Barcelona to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Coruña was about five hundred and sixty miles in length. The average breadth of the independent territories of the Basques and Goths, reckoning from the crest of the Cantabrian mountains to the sea, was somewhere about thirty miles, so that the Christian part of the peninsula was about equally divided between the foreground of the Pyrenees and the background of the Cantabrian mountains.

The narrative of Christian reconquest, with its many small bases, numerous dynasties, and changing capitals, is notoriously difficult to follow. A welcome simplification is, however, achieved if we put ourselves in the enemies' place and suppose ourselves charged with the defence of the frontier of Islam. It has two parts, the plateau country on the west, the Ebro valley on the east. The vast extent of country to the south is of ample size for a Storehouse of supplies. The sea communication with the ultimate recruiting base in north Africa is short, and far away from any efficient Christian navy in the Mediterranean. The chief strategic pre-occupation connected with the theatre is the lateral communication behind the fighting line, whereby the Pyrenean can be reinforced from the Cantabrian sector or *vice versa* as required. This power of lateral reinforcement depends upon the secure possession of the direct, easy, and comparatively low crossing between the Ebro and Douro basins. The main route is by way of the Pancorbo defile in the Montes Obarenes overlooking the Ebro where the course of that river is traversed by the meridian of 3° W. longitude, thence over a crest scarcely exceeding three thousand feet, to the confluence of the Arlanzon and Vega (where Burgos now stands) and so down the valley of the former river to the

junctions with the Arlanza and Pisuerga, where the open plateau of the Douro basin has an altitude of about two thousand five hundred feet. There are also other routes further north across the watershed. The crossing could be approached from the Christian bases in the North by way of the Reinosa pass from the present province of Santander, or by the valley leading up from Bilbao between the Punta de los Tornos and the Sierra Salvada. The crest-line of the whole crossing runs north-west to south-east from the central mass of the Cantabrian mountains (on which abut the modern provinces of Leon, Oviedo, Santander and Valencia) to the Pico de Urbion near the meridian of 3° west longitude where the modern provinces of Burgos, Soria, and Logrono meet, south of the mass of the Sierra de la Demanda. This is the crest-line of the district which was destined to become famous as the original Castile, the decisive position at the first stage of the general advance of the Christian line. As soon as it was firmly occupied the Moslems had no proper line of communication between the plateau section and the Ebro section of their front, except by the Tagus-Jalon depression south of the Sierra de Guadarrama. The Christians on the contrary established connection between their newly advanced territories in the Douro and Ebro valleys. Having given the reader this clue I will take up the description and narrative of the capitals which were successively established and relinquished for more forward positions during the Christian recovery of the Spanish peninsula.

The Basque country ended not far west of Bilbao where the Cantabrian ranges closely approach the shore. It should be noticed in this connection that although the general crest of the Cantabrian mountain system is parallel to the coast there is an oblique trend of individual ranges, which approach the shore from the west. Thus are formed the wedge-shaped eastern terminations of the modern provinces of Santander and Oviedo. The western terminal of the natural Stronghold north of the Cantabrian ranges which lies beyond the Basque country is formed by the Sierras which branch off from the main range

where the latter bends to the south-west. These spurs (of which the Sierra de Rañadoiro is one of the most conspicuous) extending to the north coast, wall in the district on the west and correspond generally with the boundary of the modern province of Oviedo. The coast country between the Basque boundary near Bilbao and these cross ranges was known as Asturias, from the name of an Iberian tribe, the *Astures*, all the country comprised in the modern province of Oviedo being called, simply, Asturias, whilst the designation of Asturias de Santillana was given to the modern Santander. The direct length of the coast line is nearly two hundred miles, and that of the mountain barrier about the same. The natural subdivision of the region is at the Peñas de Europa where the mountains swell in height and breadth, forming the principal mass of the whole system. This mass approaches the sea near the mouth of the river Deva which is the western boundary of Santander, or Asturias de Santillana. The northern slope of the Peñas de Europa is the best natural stronghold of the whole coast country west of Bilbao, not only on account of the height and breadth of the mass and the restriction of the coast-wise route from the east, but because it lies well away from the two good passes across the mountains. These are the Reinosa pass, about thirty-five miles distant in an easterly direction, where the interior plateau is connected with the province of Santander at an altitude of two thousand eight hundred feet, and the Pajares pass fifty miles in a westerly direction which connects the plateau with the province of Oviedo. On the northern slope of the Peñas de Europa, flanked on the west by the Sierra de Abes and on the east by the Sierra de Cuera is the cave of Covadonga, the refuge of the band of three hundred Gothic warriors who there, according to credible tradition, proclaimed their leader Pelayo king of the Goths in A.D. 718, seven years after the death of Roderick. To-day, twelve hundred years later, the king of reconquered Spain still bears the title of Count of Covadonga. That stronghold is walled-in by a mountain of more than seven thousand feet at a distance of

seven miles on the south, and is flanked by heights of nearly five thousand feet twelve miles to the east, and more than four thousand feet at the same distance on the west, whilst a steep and inhospitable coast lies at the same distance on the north.

The Saracens still pressed on, and the Christians lost Galicia which, though more remote than Asturias, is not so well protected by mountains. In his neighbourhood however Pelayo held his own and was able to take up a somewhat more open position for his headquarters, making a modest capital at the town of Cangas de Onís eight miles north-west of Covadonga. By the end of the century the improved outlook of the Gothic remnant is shown by their seeking instead of avoiding the neighbourhood of the great passes to the plateau. In the reign of Alphonso II (792-842 A.D.) the capital was transferred to Oviedo, thirty-five miles west of Cangas de Onís in the valley leading up to the pass of Pajares and about equidistant from Gijon and Aviles, the two best ports on a long line of inhospitable coast. At the same time the chivalry were pressing up from Asturias de Santillana, the country east of Cangas de Onís, over the Reinosa pass to the district which ultimately proved to be the decisive theatre, where, by 789 A.D., Counts were already established in strong towers in "Castile."

West of Oviedo, Galicia was recovered, and the official recognition of the bones of St. James the Apostle at Santiago de Compostella in A.D. 835 indicates the extent of the recovery in the early part of the ninth century. The advance southward from the valley of the Minho, which is the central avenue of Galicia, brought the western contingents of the Christian forces into the lower valley of the Douro, which, unlike that of the Minho, is strongly barred on the east by the sudden declivity of the plateau, from which the river cuts its way by a steep and narrow gorge. The same separation, increased, as has been already stated, by the belt of barren country east of the declivity, characterizes the lower valley of the Tagus. This isolation led to the independence of the Counts commanding in the western theatre. Their original district of Galicia, indeed, remained a

part of the kingdom of Asturias, but the coast district of the Douro and Tagus, and southward to Cape St. Vincent, became the independent County, and subsequently Kingdom, of Portugal. Coimbra was the capital in A.D. 1128, a town twenty-five miles from the sea upon the Mondego, a third-rate navigable river. Since the middle of the thirteenth century Lisbon has been the capital, nine miles from the sea upon an estuary providing first-class harbourage both for mediæval and modern shipping, thus marking the increasingly maritime character of the dominions successively won by the right wing of the Christian advance from the Asturian base.

The central line of operation from that base was from the capital, Oviedo, across the Pajares pass, the importance of which is due not only to the easy crossing of the summit but to the straight valley of the Bernesga leading south-by-east. Here, thirty miles from the pass, Leon stands upon the open plateau at an altitude of two thousand six hundred feet. The convenience of its access to the north-west corner of the Peninsula made it the headquarters of an important Roman garrison when the tribes of that district were controlled by forces based to the south and east. Similarly it was a good forward connecting position for a kingdom based on the north and north-west and expanding south-eastward across the plateau. The capital was accordingly advanced from Oviedo to Leon about 924 A.D., the progress of recovery being registered by the change of title of the sovereign from King of Asturias to King of Leon.

Meanwhile the left wing of the forces operating from the Cantabrian mountains had not stood still. Their best line of operation was by the Reinosa pass near the source of the Ebro and east of the central mass of the Cantabrian mountains. We may take the Pieña Prieta in this mountain mass as marking the extreme west of the position.

At Aguilar sixteen miles in a southerly direction from Reinosa a baronial seat was established guarding the approach to the pass, and also to the eastward route from its foot to

Bilbao which follows the base of the Cantabrian mountains as they approach the coast at an acute angle. Aguilar also stands in front of the route which follows the base of the mountains from the west leading both to the Reinosa pass and the Basque coast. It is on the left bank of the Pisuergra, an important tributary of the Douro, which rises near the source of the Ebro and after passing Aguilar flows southward. Up the valley of this river a railway now runs which is joined by a line from the west and thereafter bifurcates north and east for the ports of Santander and Bilbao. This garrisoned position guarding the eastern, western, and southern exits from the Reinosa pass, was the north-western terminal of the chain of fortified posts known as "the de Lara line" from the title of a noble family.¹ The line extended from the spurs of the central mass of the Cantabrian mountains to those of the Sierra de la Demanda and the lesser Sierras adjacent thereto, the south-eastern extremity being marked by the baronial post of Lerma on the Arlanza (not Arlanzon), a river flowing westward to unite with the south-flowing Pisuergra. A main road now runs from the Guadarrama passes on the south through Lerma directly northwards to Burgos.

Between Aguilar and Lerma are the baronial² towns of Herrera and Castrogeriz which divide this fairly open country into three nearly equal sectors, the total length of the line Aguilar-Herrera-Castrogeriz-Lerma being sixty-five miles. It covers all easy routes from the plateau to the parting between the headwaters of the Douro and its tributaries the Arlanzon and Pisuergra on the one side, and those of the Ebro and its short right-bank tributaries on the other. The opposite approach to the line of water-parting which extends from the Sierra de la Demanda to the Cantabrian range in eastern Santander was similarly guarded by a chain of baronial establishments (the Velasco or Velasquez line of Spruner-Menke)

¹ See Plate 17 of Spruner-Menke's *Historical Atlas*.

² I employ the term baronial to include "count" as well as "baron" instead of using the less familiar word "seigneurial."

at la Cueva, Medina de Pomar, Frias and Haro, a front of rather more than fifty miles reckoned directly between its extremities. In order to get our cross-bearings we must note the distance between the de Lara line and Velasco line. Aguilar at the northern end of the former and la Cueva at the northern end of the latter are thirty-five miles apart. The distance between Lerma and Haro at the southern ends of the two lines is fifty-eight miles. Between Frias and Haro lies the Pancorbo defile through the Montes Obarenes, now followed by the trunk line of railway from Paris to Madrid, the main way from the valley of the Ebro to the great plains of the upper Douro by way of the Arlanzon valley. Guarding the route from the Pancorbo pass to the latter valley stood the baronial post of Briviesca, slightly withdrawn behind the general line of the north-eastern forts. Halfway between the eastern and western lines of defence on the direct and easy route between the Pancorbo defile and the junction of the Pisuerga and Arlanza on the edge of the plains, and on the river Arlanzon which flows to the south-west, the citadel of Burgos was erected in 884 A.D., the central castle of the newly-won district. Burgos is situated near the summit of the main crossing. The two lines of posts which we have described are, roughly, parallel to one another, and run from north-west to south-east. They rest on the Cantabrian ranges on the north and the Sierra la Demanda and neighbouring mountains on the south. The area so enclosed may be reckoned roughly at five thousand square miles.

This "Castile" was united by 923 A.D. under one Count, whose capital was Burgos. The Count did not recognise the authority of the King of Asturias, or as he was entitled after A.D. 924, the King of Leon. In A.D. 1037 or 1038 Bermudo King of Leon was killed in battle with Ferdinand of Castile. Ferdinand's wife Sancha was sister and heiress of Bermudo, and the dominions of Leon and Castile were united, being known as the kingdom of Castile and Leon, of which the capital was not Leon but Burgos. It may be thought that the pre-eminence given to Burgos was due to the greater importance of the male

consort in a military age, but this idea is not supported by what happened later when Ferdinand King of Aragon married Isabella of Castile, the combined court being held at the capital of the kingdom of Castile, which was then Toledo. There can, I think, be little doubt that the pre-eminence of the Castilians, which was enduring, was largely due to the fact that at the time when this connecting district was won territorial feudalism was only just beginning, the leaders of men were not yet tied down by their estates, and chivalry was mobile. Consequently the most enterprising, gallant, and capable men from far and near sought the main theatre of war. The surroundings of Burgos are associated with the names of the greatest popular heroes of Spain, the Cid and others, because here were the lists of combat. The descendants of these warriors had for several generations important advantages of acquired resources, military tradition, and, possibly, inherited military aptitude.

We now pass to the Pyrenean sector of the Christian front. Early in the tenth century, when Oviedo had been exchanged for Leon, and Burgos was the seat of an independent Count of Castile, the districts comprised in Charlemagne's *Marca Hispanica* were no longer organized by a Frankish emperor or king but independent. Between the main range of the Pyrenees and the lower parallel ranges on the south, small States were organized in valleys divided from one another by spurs of the main range. Pamplona, a town having access to the pass of Roncesvalles, became the capital of the kings of Navarre. Further east Jacca was an early capital of the rulers who became known as kings of Aragon, this town having direct access by the Valle de Canfranc to the pass of Le Somport, the *Summus portus* of the Roman road, which is one of the very few good passes through the central Pyrenees, here crossed at a height of five thousand four hundred feet.

The counts of Barcelona also became independent, and, by marriage with the reigning house of Aragon in A.D. 1135, the dominions were united under the style of Kingdom of Aragon. Previously the crowns of Navarre and Aragon had been united,

but now the Navarrese, withdrew from the union. Two centuries before under Sancho the Great the house of Navarre had been a dynastic link among the Christian kingdoms, but the population around Pamplona is largely Basque, and this probably accounts wholly or in part for the forwardness of the kingdom in offensive operations when the Saracens were close, and its backwardness later on when the Castilians and Aragonese were pressing south to parts of the Peninsula which the Basques did not regard as within their country. Ultimately the kings of Castile brought Biscay and Guipuzcoa into their dominion as strictly autonomous provinces with their own laws guaranteed. Their inclusion saved the kingdom of Castile from the serious risk of being cut off from contact with Europe by the Kingdom of Aragon. The territory of the kings of Castile became essentially the Spanish plateau or *meseta*. The most direct and best-graded route thence to the country beyond the Pyrenees is from the plains of the Upper Douro by way of Burgos and the Pancorbo pass. This pass is now traversed by the railway line from Madrid to Paris at an altitude of about two thousand feet, and is one hundred and twenty-four miles by railway from the French frontier.¹ The line descends to fourteen hundred and eighty feet at Miranda de Ebro where the river is crossed, one hundred and twelve miles from the frontier. For the next fifty miles or so it climbs again, attaining an altitude of about two thousand feet near the Pass of Idiazabal, and thence descends gradually for about sixty miles to the frontier. It will be observed that the Arlanzon valley and Pancorbo pass are aligned with remarkable directness to the low western terminal of the Pyrenees, and that this is approached from the Pancorbo pass just where the east-and-west mountain chains of northern Spain are lowest, between the Pyrenees and the central masses of the Cantabrian mountains.

By 1118 A.D. Saragossa was taken from the Saracens by those Christian forces of the Pyrenean section represented by the united houses of Aragon and Barcelona. Here was es-

¹ See Baedeker's *Handbook to Spain and Portugal*.

established the final capital of the kingdom of Aragon in the best connecting position with the basin of the Tagus which can be found in that of the Ebro, the route being by the valley of the Jalon. The Castilians were already established in the valley of the Upper Tagus and were using Toledo, situated in that district near the Moorish frontier, as their capital. The fact that the territories won respectively from the Cantabrian and Pyrenean fronts were bounded by the Iberian heights indicates that the early occupation of the Burgos crossing secured the Cantabrian chivalry against the disadvantage of having to share the plateau with those who operated from the Pyrenean bases. After the occupation of Saragossa by the kings of Aragon a delimitation was agreed upon between their sphere of conquest and that of the kings of Castile, Valencia being assigned to the former, Murcia to the latter. Murcia, like Valencia, lies on the Mediterranean side of the water-parting, and its inclusion in the Castilian sphere indicates the greater resources already possessed by the Castilian kingdom. Toledo, on the great Tagus-Jalon depression, has good connection with both Portugal and Aragon, and hereabouts the Sierras are crossed by passes which cut this line squarely, providing natural routes from north-west to south-east. It is thus a central connecting position for the several regions of the Peninsula.

We have seen that the headquarters of the Christians originally based on the Cantabrian sector was successively advanced from Cangas de Onís to Oviedo, Leon, Burgos and Toledo, and we have therefore to enquire why it was not advanced further during the three centuries which were to elapse before the fall of Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain. The chief deterrent is to be found in physical geography, for south of Toledo lies a broad stretch of country called by the Moors *Al Mansha*, the desert, and by the Spaniards *La Mancha*. The district is almost as badly off for radiating routes as for supplies, so that neither as Storehouse nor Cross-ways was it suitable for headquarters. There were also changes

in political geography which militated against carrying the capital further south. As the power of the Moors waned so that of Aragon and Portugal rose, the eastern and western frontiers of Castile therefore became of relatively greater importance, and a capital on the line of the great Tagus depression had advantages of communication with both these neighbouring States which could not be found further south. Thus the capital of the Castilian kingdom had been carried as far south as was advisable for the present.

When King Ferdinand of Aragon married Queen Isabella of Castile in A.D. 1479, the Castilian capital, Toledo, became the capital of the United Crowns. There can be no doubt that this course was largely determined by the fact that the Castilians not the Catalonians were the greater community. The Castilian dominions also connected Aragon with Granada which remained to be conquered, and was in fact won in A.D. 1492, the same year in which the voyage of Columbus inaugurated the colonial phase of Spain's expansion. To Ferdinand and Isabella succeeded Charles V, who, in addition to the office of Emperor, held by inheritance the Burgundian dominions, including the Netherlands and other lands. His son Philip II inherited the dominions of Castile and Aragon, the latter including Sicily and Naples, the duchy of Milan, Franche-Comté and the Netherlands. Philip, forsaking Toledo, placed his capital at Madrid in A.D. 1560, the significance of the act being that he maintained the seat of government in the Castiles and in the centre of Spain. It was not until A.D. 1581 that he succeeded to the crown of Portugal.

The part of the country in which Madrid is situated was a normal site for the capital of Castile before the conquest of Granada and the acquisition of the American possessions, but its central and elevated position (at an altitude of more than two thousand three hundred feet) is anomalous for the capital of the united Spanish Kingdom, in the most maritime of the southern peninsulas of Europe, with vast possessions in both East and West Indies; and it is suggestive that the

institution of Madrid as capital is nearly coincident with the decline which has reduced Spain from the rank of a Great Power. From the analogy of successful empires we should have expected Spain, if her destinies were well guided, to have a capital in the south after the fall of Granada and the acquisition of colonies in the Indies. I do not suggest that had Philip II as a matter of personal preference chosen Seville for his seat of administration the fate of Spain would have been different, but I wish to emphasize that had Spanish policy between A.D. 1492 and 1560 been directed to the exploitation of geographical instead of dynastic advantages there would have been such development south of the Sierra Morena that Andalusia and Granada would have become the hub of Spain, and the seat of government would probably have been transferred there. The course of the world's affairs made the sixteenth century the epoch of Spain's opportunity. Two kinds of opportunity indeed came simultaneously. There was the dynastic, which made the King of Spain master of the Netherlands, comprising some of the richest trading communities in the world ; and there was the geographical, which suddenly made the Peninsula the best connection of Christendom with the New World, and with the new route to India and the Far East. The peninsula is not only the European land nearest to the west shore of Africa, along which runs the coasting route to Asia, but is also peculiarly advantageous for the use of the winds on the American voyage. A little way to the south a vessel enters the easterly, or Trade, wind which carries her to the shores of the Caribbean, whilst from the latter a short cast to the north brings the vessel into the prevailing westerlies which waft her back to Spain.

But the policy of Spain during this momentous period was not dictated by a geographical view. Great opportunities were afforded by the international law and custom of Christendom for the growth of dominions by marriage and inheritance in the ruling families, and in these the Habsburgs were fortunate. The history of the Castilians had not been such as to train

them in naval strategy, or in economics. Their military experience had made them good soldiers in the field, but the want of economic training seems to have led their statesmen to underestimate or ignore home production as a factor in the supply of recruits. After the conquest of Granada every effort should have been made to increase production south of the Sierra Morena, where much of the land is far more fertile than in Old and New Castile. Instead, the Moors, who were some of the best, perhaps the very best, agriculturists in Spain as well as exceptionally good craftsmen, were deported, and there was no one to fill their place. Amidst a people whose training in trade was deficient, the presence of the Jews promoted commerce, but the Jews also were expelled from the country. Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis were in the hands of small Mohammedan states, whilst the Ottoman Empire, now seated at Constantinople, was the most powerful State in Europe; yet the military effort of Spain was not concentrated on the opposite coast of Africa. With Naples and Sicily part of the Crown of Aragon the coast of Tunis was not properly secured. Had these considerations predominated, Andalusia, including Granada, would have become the hub of Spain, and the capital would have gravitated to the valley of the Guadalquivir, probably to Seville. The metropolitan district would then have been in a Storehouse connecting the country with the most important Crossways adjacent to its frontier, the Straits of Gibraltar, of which the crossing connects Spain with another Continent, and of which the passage was then the sole connection between the shipping of the Mediterranean and the ocean. On the Atlantic side of the Straits lay the Spanish colonies in America and the Indies, on the Mediterranean side the naval power of the Ottoman Turk. A firm hold on the Straits would have divided the naval forces not only of France but of the corsairs of Morocco. If the statesmen of Spain had decided on the policy of developing their geographical opportunities (supposing them to have realized their geographical position) they would have stood to win that great territory in

northern and tropical Africa which is now ruled from the French capital.

The historical fact, however, is that in the sixteenth century the policy of Spain was based not on the geographical but the dynastic opportunities of the country, and an impartial consideration of the appearance which the world presented at the time will make us admit that the opportunities opened by dynastic inheritance appeared to be very great.

It is worth tracing out the effect which a geographical as distinguished from a dynastic policy would have had upon the unification of the communities of Spain. These have not merged into a homogeneous nation since the fifteenth century to anything like the same degree as in France. The several Romance languages formerly spoken in France have merged in one speech. In Spain there are still three languages, Galician, Catalan and Castilian, of which Castilian is the Spanish of South and Central America. "Spanish" as a word denoting nationality corresponds more nearly to "German" than to "French." The preservation of such differences in Spain throughout the centuries which have seen their obliteration in France, is, of course, connected with the very different relief of the two lands. Internal communications in France both by land and water are naturally easy. In Spain the large central plateau, with its steep margin and its superposed sierras, makes cross-traffic difficult. But if Spain had concentrated on a maritime policy in the sixteenth century the coast provinces would have been linked by coastwise shipping to a degree that is not possible for France. This would have united the people in a greater degree than appears from the map, for the coast provinces are more thickly peopled than the relatively barren plateau, and under a maritime policy they would have been relatively still more populous. [Appendix, note 6.]

CHAPTER VII

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN GREAT BRITAIN¹

THE COMMERCIAL CAPITAL OF ROMAN BRITAIN

WHEN Claudius undertook the invasion of Great Britain in 43 A.D. the Roman Empire was at the height of its power, and an extensive, possibly a complete, conquest was planned. Gaul was already an organized province, and the proper line of operation was therefore a direct route from Italy through Gaul and a short crossing thence to Britain. This is across the Straits of Dover, from a port, or ports, near Boulogne to those on the south and east coast of Kent. The rivers and estuaries in this part of Kent, as we know both from records and remains, were more open and provided better natural harbourage than at the present day. The forest wilderness of the Weald isolated the district of chalk Downs on the west, other sides being protected by the sea. East Kent was therefore a good landing ground; but it was not a good distributing station, and some junction of natural routes accessible from Kent had to be found further inland to serve as a base for extensive operations. The estuary and tideway of the Thames interposed a barrier between the Downs of Kent and the main interior of the island which, under the conditions of an undrained country, was in some respects as formidable as the Channel crossing. Beyond the tideway of the Thames the country lay open. The prime essential for the conquest of Great Britain was, therefore, the establishment of a base of operations on the north bank of the Thames which would satisfy the following three funda-

¹ Appendix, note 7.

mental requirements. First, a short and secure line of communication overland from the Kent ports, second, access by sea-going ships, third, uninterrupted access to the Eastern counties and Midlands.

Access by ship was required in order that the advanced base should not be dependent on a single line of communication, and was particularly desirable for the Romans because their wheeled transport was primitive, although their roads were excellent.

A geological map indicates the necessary direction of communication from the Kent ports, that namely along the open heights of the northern chalk Downs, avoiding the primeval forest of the Weald. The Medway has to be crossed, and the crossing where Chatham and Rochester now stand is the point from which we may properly lay out the lines of approach to the interior of Britain north of the Thames. Directly to the north of Rochester lies the lowest reach of the tidal Thames just above the estuary. Here, however, the river is not only very wide but bordered on both sides by broad flats of soft ground derived from the erosion of the clay through which the Thames makes its way for so many miles. At the site of Gravesend the chalk reaches the south bank of the river, and a little higher up, at the site of Purfleet, reappears on the northern bank. Hereabouts, therefore, is a position suitable for establishing a crossing of some kind, but the width between Gravesend and Tilbury is two thousand one hundred feet, which is too great to be bridged. The depth is too great for a ford, and under some conditions of tide and weather the passage can only be made in strong boats handled by skilled watermen. Moreover the north bank from Tilbury to Purfleet, though having good access to the present counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, was debarred from direct access to the Midlands by the double line of marshy bottoms where flow the rivers Roding and Lea. Their course being through clay soil, the undrained alluvium, as that of the Thames, will not bear a weight when wet. Moreover the flat

bottom of the Lea valley is, under natural conditions, inundated by the tide for many miles. Taking all these facts into account we see that the hard landing near Purfleet was not suitable for a base from which to conquer and hold Great Britain.

From Purfleet westwards the north bank of the Thames was, under recurrent conditions of tide and weather, inaccessible by land on account of the broad flats of soft alluvium, until the Lea and the Isle of Dogs were passed. Here firm ground, consisting of clay, abuts upon the north side of the river, forming a fairly steep bank with a general height of from twenty-five to fifty feet. On the south bank the ground is low, but it was either naturally accessible at all times or could be made so by a causeway, as the establishment of Southwark by the Romans proves. The present width of the river at London Bridge is seven hundred and fifty feet, so that the width of the Thames at this crossing is only one-third that at Gravesend. It is evident that the difference of thirteen hundred and fifty feet in width of river much more than compensates for another twenty miles of land distance from Rochester in comparing the security of connection of this station with the sites of Tilbury or Purfleet and of London respectively. Moreover the site of London has open access over firm ground to the whole of the Midlands. This access is by the broad water-parting between the Lea and the more westerly Thames tributary the Colne, and afterwards follows approximately the water-parting between the Severn and Thames tributaries on the left and those of the southern Ouse and the Trent on the right. In countries such as south Britain which are of low relief and, owing to their rainfall, largely clothed by nature with forest, the water-parting generally provides the best natural line of land communication.

We must not however allow our imagination to be so dominated by the apparently irresistible growth of London throughout the centuries as to suppose that there were no other positions worth considering as alternative sites for the base

of conquest. A slight rise of ground at Westminster was sufficient to provide a landing-place on the north side from a point about a mile and a half from Southwark. The western limit of possible positions for the required base was however much further on, namely at the furthest reach of the tide, the limit of navigation by sea-going sailing ships. At present the tideway is blocked by the lock at Teddington, but before the erection of that structure must have gone further. A little beyond Kingston, the Mole, and higher up the Wey, join the Thames on the right, and thereafter the line of the river bends through a right angle, the south-westerly direction which we have followed from the Lea changing to north-westerly as far as Bourne End, between Cookham and Marlow. By road from Rochester the direct distance to Kingston is no greater than to Brentford, but up-stream from Kingston the line of communication from Rochester would immediately lengthen. As the Colne joins the Thames on its north bank to the west of Kingston a crossing at the latter place has the same advantage as that from Southwark in that it is on the water-parting to which we have already referred which leads across to the Irish Sea.

Thus the intersections of the Thames tideway by practicable military crossings leading in a nearly direct line from Rochester to the Midlands all lie between the Mole and the Lea. Owing to the dynamic laws which govern the flow of a river across a plain composed of fine-grained and friable material good crossings are few and far between in the tidal portion of the Thames.¹ The reason is that the course of the stream is generally a succession of meanders, that on the convex bank a low-lying deposit of detritus is laid down opposite to the eroded ground of the concave bank, and that the flood tide, stemmed by the current in the channel, overflows the low promontories. Consequently, hard ground on one side

¹ See James Thomson on "The Windings of Rivers in Alluvial Plains" in *The Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 1876, p. 5, and 1877, p. 356.

of the river is generally faced by soft ground on the other. Thus direct crossings which will be available under all conditions are few, and it is only at a direct crossing that a bridge can be built, or a convenient ferry established, or, generally, a ford be found. Brentford and Kingston are situated on comparatively straight reaches of the generally meandering course of the river between Westminster and the river Mole, and much of the neighbouring ground is firm gravel. At Brentford the Thames was fordable, and a line of ancient stakes has been found in the bed. At Kingston the river has a width of only about two hundred and fifty feet, one-third that at London Bridge. The much smaller range of the tide in the upper parts of the river also makes crossing much easier than from Southwark or even to Westminster. The direct distance overland from Rochester to Southwark is twenty-seven miles, to Brentford or Kingston thirty-five, an addition of only eight miles. As far therefore as concerns access to the Midlands from Gaul and the Kent ports there was much to be said for Brentford or Kingston as the distributing base in preference to London. This was particularly the case in the early stages of the conquest before the permanent bridge was built at the Southwark crossing. The site of London, however, was preferable to all other places on the Thames tideway above the Lea on account of its proximity to the right bank of the latter river. The military value of the Lea was not that of a moat to the walls of London, which stood at a considerable distance from that river. This kind of advantage was provided by the Fleet brook on the east, but the Romans were pre-eminent in the practice of erecting fortifications, and the natural obstructions in front of the London walls were of minor importance. The great advantage of the site was the facility which the Lea afforded for the operations of the garrison outside the walls. The alluvial valley of the Lea extends for twenty miles north of London and for the greater part of the way provides an ideal line of defence for troops holding the right bank of the river. The ground on

this side is dry and sufficiently high, whilst the left bank is difficult to approach on account of marshes. The course of the river is moreover unusually straight, so that a minimum length of line has to be held. Even had the hostile bases been distributed generally over the land north of the Thames the angle between the Lea and the Thames would have been a better base of operations than Kingston or Brentford (the advantage over Westminster was mainly due to the higher ground). But in the time of Claudius the chief capitals in south Britain, and probably in all Britain, were the associated towns of Colchester and St. Albans, of which the former was perhaps the more important. The evidence of history is here reinforced by that of the British coins struck at both places. The line of the Lea provided flank protection on the side of Colchester during operations against the district of St. Albans. No doubt need be entertained that it was the advantage of the Lea for defence, and to some extent for water transport also, which induced the Romans to put up with the disadvantage of a crossing so much more difficult than those at Brentford and Kingston, and afterwards to undertake the formidable task of building a bridge between Southwark and London. Relics of this bridge were discovered when old London Bridge was reconstructed, ancient wooden piles being found along the line, and beneath them thousands of Roman coins as well as medallions and pottery.

The great road to those western parts of England which lie south of the Thames did not start from the right bank of the river and follow the course of the present South-Western railway, but took a straight course from the city to Brentford, and onwards, over gravel soil, to Staines, where a crossing was established just below the junction of the river Colne, nineteen miles from London. This road facilitated the control of the crossings at Brentford and Kingston. The Staines crossing itself enjoyed a protection by the waters of the Colne river much greater than appears from the present conditions. Nowadays much of the water is taken for the Staines reser-

voir, or contained in canals, but a careful examination of the ground, and a study of the levels below West Drayton shows how intricate must have been the channels in Roman times. It is almost equally easy for the waters of the Colne to flow south or south-east, and there is consequently a tendency to form distributaries and marshy ground. At present the Colne has three channels to the Thames west of Staines, the Colne river proper on the East, the Wyrardisbury river, and the Colne brook. There was also a distributary making its way to the Thames east of Staines, the course of which can still be traced. Middlesex, of which the river Colne forms the western boundary as the Lea forms the eastern, is an ancient division. I shall not enter into the question whether it was or was not the Rural part of a Roman jurisdiction of which the walled town of London was the Urban portion, but content myself with pointing out that its eastern and western boundaries, the alluvial valleys of the Lea and Colne, are defensive barriers about as far from the city as could be conveniently controlled by a force based there; that few points in the country are twenty miles in a straight line from London Bridge, and that these are mostly in the well-protected corner between Brentford and Uxbridge. Thus every part is within a day's march of the city. The frontier of Middlesex together with a small area on the right bank of the Thames between Kingston and Southwark may therefore be regarded as the striking distance of a London garrison. The name of Southwark at the southern entrance to the all-important bridge tells its own tale. Another position of some military importance south of the river is the high ground of Wimbledon Common (with steep slopes affording wide views east and south) which lies on the approach from Rochester by way of Dartford to both the Brentford and Kingston crossings.

The occupation of Britain by the Romans progressed rapidly, so that presently London ceased to be in the forward area, and no legion was stationed there. The invasion was not extended to Ireland. In Great Britain, Wales was occupied,

but the Scottish lowlands only held as a borderland, and the principal frontier defence was finally established from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. York, a position well advanced towards the frontier and with good access by sea, was the station of one of the legions, and probably has a better claim than any other city to be described as the military capital of the Province of Britain.¹ As Britain was a frontier province, its constitution was of necessity military. London, however, according to Professor Haverfield, was the seat of the finance officials of the province. The establishment of a port,² and the advantage of the radiating military roads, facilitated the commercial development for which its situation was so well adapted. As York was well placed for military connection between the province and its frontier, so London was ideally placed for commercial connection between the Province and the rest of the Empire, and it accordingly attained commercial development out of proportion to its official position. Commerce, indeed, has had from early times a wider range than strategy and a freer field than international politics, and accordingly the commercial status of London in early days, foreshadowed its political status at a later period.

Early in the fifth century the Teutonic kingdoms in Gaul cut the communications between Great Britain and the rest of the Roman Empire. When the legions were withdrawn the population of York was diminished not only by so many thousand soldiers but also by the large number of persons employed in their service and supply. The population of London on the contrary was not correspondingly diminished; hence when Britain ceased to be a Province the city attained a relative pre-eminence which it had not formerly enjoyed.

¹ See G. G. Chisholm, *Longmans' Gazetteer*, article "York."

² According to Hübner (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, III (1899), p. 870, it was already a naval station and custom-house in the time of Nero.

THE COMMERCIAL AND SUZERAIN CAPITALS OF THE HEPTARCHY

We have next to examine the status of the city during the Saxon period. The Saxon *Chronicle* says that in 457 A.D., seven or eight years after the Jutes had landed in Kent, they defeated the Britons at Crayford and that the Britons retreated to London. There is no further reference to London in the Saxon *Chronicle* before 604 A.D., when, by the instrumentality of Æthelberht king of Kent, Mellitus became bishop in London. In the interval between these dates most of the lowlands of Great Britain had been occupied by the Anglo-Saxons. Some of their tribal kings took up residence in Roman cities and made them capitals, as was the case with York, Winchester and Canterbury, the capitals of Deira, Wessex and Kent. In the important State of Mercia, Tamworth, about fifteen miles north-east of the site of Birmingham and near Watling Street, was a royal residence and the seat of a mint. We never hear of London being the residence of a tribal English king, and among their recorded conquests there is no mention of its capture. The Æthelberht referred to above was not only king of Kent but Bretwalda, or presidential sovereign, of all Southumbria. The recorded relations between the Londoners and Anglo-Saxon kings appear to be with the sovereign who held at the time a presidential position. Yet London, such as we know it later, cannot be regarded as an unchanged Romano-British city. What happened at two later crises in the affairs of the city suggests an explanation of what happened between 457 A.D. and 604 A.D. When Canute's supremacy in the country was seen to be inevitable, the Londoners acquiesced in his sovereignty. Later on, after opposing William the Conqueror in the field, they made a treaty with him, and to this day the Chief Citizen of London is officially concerned with the accession of each king. Neither Danish, Norman, nor kings of later dynasties have resided in the city of London, for the royal residence of the Tower is beyond the city. The ceremonial observances

relating to the Lord Mayor are strikingly regal, and a clear reflection of his position as a potentate and no mere official. The reasonable inference is that the trading community which constituted London never surrendered unconditionally to the Saxon tribes. Had it done so it would have been an ideal site for an important, probably the most important, of their royal capitals. Had London been deserted, as some historians have supposed, a tribal capital would surely have been founded on the Thames somewhere between the Mole and the Lea, and it would have been the capital of one of the most important of the Kingdoms. The walls of London on the north bank of the Thames, the bridge, and the suburb of Southwark, must, however, have presented a formidable, perhaps an insurmountable, obstruction. Old London Bridge acted, we know, as a weir obstructing navigation (partly by the difference of level produced at most times of tide by its numerous and broad piers) and the Roman bridge presumably acted in the same way. London Bridge was indeed a unique factor for a thousand years in the defences as well as the communications of the country. A remarkable feature of the early divisions of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms south of the Humber is their common corner in the vicinity of London, which indicates, I think, a general desire to reach that part of the Thames where the river is still sufficiently narrow to be conveniently crossed and yet already tidal, and to get into touch with the organized trading centre already established there.

Even in the seventh century London, as we know from Bede, was the residence of merchants of many nationalities. "London merchant" is still a recognized description and one to be proud of, and the markets are still important in the public economy of the City. The City has always had in a special degree the character of a Mart, and during the Heptarchy it apparently served the surrounding Kingdoms as a depot and market for continental trade, a common capital for commerce.

When the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was planned from Rome, it was intended, we are told, that archbishoprics should be established at London and York. That of York was founded but Canterbury was substituted for London. This is suggestive of the autonomy of London. The circumstance that the Southern Province is almost identical with Southumbria suggests that this region was the range of London's commercial supremacy.

Certain facts relating to the affairs of the Mercian kings during their supremacy in England, and of the Wessex kings who followed them in the over-lordship, illustrate the point, on which stress has already been laid, that the London to Southwark crossing is only one of several convenient connecting positions on the Tidal Thames between the Mole and the Lea. When the kings of Mercia were predominant among the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, the Mercian Council was at first frequently held in London but afterwards at Brentford. This town is a hundred miles from Tamworth the royal capital of Mercia. Brentford however was a position suited for an advanced headquarters linking Mercia with Winchester and Canterbury, and also with London, although not with York. The royal capital of Ecgberght, who established the supremacy of Wessex over the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms including that of Northumbria, was Winchester, but he summoned a council to meet at Kingston, situated, as Brentford is, suitably for connecting Mercia, London, Canterbury and Winchester, but on the Winchester side of the Thames. The kings of the West-Saxon or Wessex dynasty continued to reside at Winchester and were buried in Winchester Cathedral, but during the tenth century their coronation as kings paramount took place at Kingston, which fulfilled in this the function of a suzerain's capital. London, I infer, ranked as the equivalent of a kingdom. The Westminster crossing was so near to the city of London that it was not suitable for the site of an advanced headquarters until the interests of the Londoners had become more inti-

mately bound up with those of the rest of the country. This unity of interest was brought about during the first period of the invasions of the Danes.

THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

The principal Anglo-Saxon divisions which are usually distinguished in the narratives of their settlement, are Kent, Sussex and Wessex, south of the Thames, Essex, East Anglia, Middle Anglia and Mercia between the Thames and the Humber estuary, Deira and Bernicia between the Humber and the Forth. Of the divisions south of the Humber, Wessex and Mercia were the two which had a frontier with the native Britons and which therefore could extend their settlements. Thus Kent, which attained an early pre-eminence, was presently surpassed by both Mercia and Wessex. The Mercian and Wessex kings acquired the Anglo-Saxon districts to the east of them, and the word Mercia as a term of political geography came to include Middle Anglia, so that it stretched across the Upper Trent, the Welland and the Nen, and the Bedfordshire Ouse to the border of East Anglia. The principal approaches of the Danes in the ninth century were the Humber and the Wash. If the Thames had been open it would have provided another good line of invasion, its valley as far as Goring Gap would not improbably have become as Danish as the Midlands, and Reading have been added to the list of their "Boroughs." That London, with its walls, weir-like bridge, and outwork at Southwark, had an important effect in preventing this is indicated by more than one event. For instance (to take an illustration from the later period of Danish invasion) Canute's men had to dig a channel round Southwark in order to get their ships above London Bridge, and even so had finally to abandon the siege.

London, however, suffered greatly from their attacks in the ninth century, and it must also have suffered in another way not so definitely recorded, namely by interference with its continental shipping trade.

That Londoners were Thames watermen rather than seamen we can infer from the naval events of Alfred's time, which have caused our navy, the Royal Navy, to be fathered on King Alfred, not mothered on the port of London, and the ships which came to London before the period of the Danish invasions may have been largely foreign owned. But however this may be, the predominance of the Danes at sea must have threatened the whole economic life of London, and the Municipality of London was therefore forced into a closer political co-operation with the Kingdom of Wessex.

The districts settled by the Danes in the ninth century are defined by place-names, particularly of villages, of which those terminating in "by" are the most easily recognized. The colonies fall into three groups. The northern is the Yorkshire settlement mostly radiating from near Goole where debouch the rivers Don, Aire, Ouse and Derwent. South of the Humber estuary is the settlement in Middle Anglia of which the radiant point was the western bay of the Wash whence the river Witham leads to Lincoln and the Welland to Stamford. On the north-west this settlement was separated from the Danish colonies of Yorkshire by the marshes in and about Hatfield Chase, in the low-lying district between the Don and Trent. The south-western boundary of this settlement extended to the Derbyshire hills at the southern end of the Pennine Chain. Its frontier forts were Stamford, Leicester on the right-bank tributary of the Trent, and Derby on a left-bank tributary of the same river. These, with Nottingham and Lincoln, were the Five Boroughs which formed the Danish confederacy of the former Middle Anglia. The original Mercia (the metropolitan Mercia in which is the old capital Tamworth) lies south-west of the Midland settlements of the Danes and is continuous with Wessex on its southern border. The easternmost Danish settlement, as indicated by place-names, was in East Anglia, that is Norfolk and Suffolk, but principally in the former. It was, apparently, effected in the first instance largely from the side of the Wash.

We have now to follow the advance of the Danes from their two Southumbrian bases for the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons lying to the south-west. The metropolitan district of Mercia, which we may roughly identify with the counties of Stafford and Warwick, on whose common border Tamworth lies, was adjacent to the Mid-Anglian settlement of the Danes, of which the frontier fortresses were Derby and Leicester, which have given their names to the counties which border Stafford and Warwick on the north-east. The remaining English Mercia was conquered up to the borders of Wessex by the Danes operating from the Five-Borough base of Mid-Anglia. East of the Wash the Danes based on Norfolk and Suffolk conquered Essex. Then began the epic struggle between the united Danish forces and the dynasty of Wessex in which the English nation of to-day was formed during the reign of its national hero King Alfred and the successors of his house. Directly between the East Anglian Danes and the Danes of the Five Boroughs lay the impassable Fens, but south-westward from Suffolk runs the ridge of open chalk country called in its eastern part the East Anglian ridge¹ and further west the Chiltern Hills. From the Five-Borough base, between Leicester and Stamford, the Northampton uplands extend south, and thence the Watling-street route along the watershed between the Thames and the Bedfordshire Ouse leads to the Chiltern Hills. In the ninth century the lines of easy movement in south Britain were either waterways or the uplands, particularly the chalk Downs. In the valleys movement was much impeded by forests and, in parts, rendered impossible by swamps. The Chilterns give a high and dry route to the banks of the Thames at Goring Gap, beyond which the open chalk Downs are continued to the south-west under the names of the White Horse Hills and afterwards of Salisbury Plain. Having effected a crossing

¹ See *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXIV, 1904, map by J. G. Bartholomew of the *Surface Relief of England and Wales* and description of its nomenclature by Hugh Robert Mill (p. 621 *et seq.*).

of the Thames, the Danes constructed a fortified camp at Reading. London was now exposed to attack by way of the river from both east and west. The Danes had two adversaries, the Municipality of London and the Kingdom of Wessex. The former provided a fixed objective, the walled city, bridge and port, on the maintenance of which the life of the community depended. The Kingdom of Wessex, on the contrary, did not depend upon its capital Winchester. The community was rural, and to a lesser extent sea-faring. The military strength was the army in the field, and security lay in keeping this force together. The second objective of the Danes was therefore not a fixed point.

The barrier of the Thames between Oxford and London had been broken through in the middle at Reading, a strong bridgehead camp established here, and the Saxons had suffered a reverse south of the river. Two courses were open to them, retirement towards the English Channel or in the direction of the Devonian peninsula. If they retreated south there was little room for retirement and the flanks were open to envelopment. If they retreated to the south-east they would approach the peninsula of Kent which was nearer to the eastern base of the Danes and accessible to their fleet on two of its sides. The plan which the Saxons adopted was to keep their army on the long broad ridge of Chalk Downs which runs south-west from Goring Gap into Dorsetshire. Along this line battles were fought with varying fortune, at Ashdown in Berkshire, near Bedwyn in Wiltshire, and near Wilton, also in Wiltshire, not far from Salisbury. After this battle, fought in 871 A.D., a peace was patched up and the Danes withdrew for a time. In 876 A.D. the contest was renewed over much the same ground. King Alfred retreated fighting on the Devonian peninsula, a course which secured his Welsh flank and gave the Danes little room for outflanking movements. The Danes attempted an attack on Alfred's flank and rear, getting forces to Wareham and Exeter. Whether they reached their destination by sea or land their

reinforcement at any rate had to be attempted by sea. By this time Alfred had a sufficient navy to engage the Danish ships, which were unable to effect their purpose and were wrecked on the Isle of Purbeck. The final centre of Anglo-Saxon defence during one winter was at Athelney among the marshes of the river Parret. Here in Somerset in the neighbourhood of the Bristol Channel are repeated the conditions of the reclaimed Fen country which adjoins the Wash. All between Athelney and the Bristol Channel was protected by natural inundation during the winter. The scene can readily be pictured by those who saw the flooded area north of Dixmude during the Great War. The breadth of country between Athelney and Charmouth on the Dorsetshire coast is less than twenty-five miles. Behind this isthmus Alfred still had the support of the men of Devon in their large and fertile country, distant from the Danish bases. In the spring (when the protection of marshy land begins to be less complete) Alfred renewed operations in the field, and, advancing north-east over nearly the same ground as in the earlier campaign, defeated the Danes at Edington in Wiltshire and finally compelled the surrender of the Danish army in its fortified camp at Chippenham in the same county. A treaty was made in 878 A.D. The frontier established a few years later, 886 A.D., is known. The Danes retired not only north of the Thames but beyond the original, or metropolitan, Mercia, between which and their settlements round the Five Boroughs the boundary was along or near Watling Street. The frontier with the East Anglian Danes was the river Lea, and thence to Bedford. Thus the defensible line of this river, to which the strategic importance of London was partly due, was extended to the boundary of the Fens, so that King Alfred held the open heights which had formerly provided the junction between the East Anglian and Mid-Anglian forces of the Danes.

The last of Alfred's campaigns against the Danes originated in a new invasion and an attempted settlement by the conti-

mental Danes, which was accompanied by a renewed outbreak on the part of the Danes settled in Britain. The principal landings of the continental Danes were on the south and north shores of Kent and on the north shore of the Thames Estuary. There was heavy fighting in Kent and along the Lea, which the Danes ascended in their ships. There was also up-and-down fighting along the Watling Street line and attacks were made on the coast of Devonshire. At all points Alfred held his kingdom, which may safely be reckoned as including London. The front which had to be held against the Danes of Britain and of the Continent consisted of two parts, the military frontier from Chester to London, and the naval front from London to the Straits of Dover and the coast of the English Channel. The Danes had already such a hold on the Channel coast of France that the Straits of Dover were more or less turned. Therefore at the time of its incorporation in a kingdom London occupied a central forward position at the junction of its naval and military fronts. It will be noticed however that it lay on the frontier which faced north-east, whereas the aspect with which we are more familiar is that of a capital which faces south-east.

Edward the Elder, A.D. 900–925, son and successor of Alfred, erected a fortress at Hertford, the origin of the modern shire of that name. Its position just north of the alluvial valley of the Lea is significant, for the function of its garrison is evidently to extend northwards that barrier against the eastern counties which a London garrison could maintain along the defensive line of the Lea. The nearness of Hertford to the ancient British capital of St. Albans, which had a political connection with Colchester, is worthy of attention. We may recall here not only the advance of the East Anglian Danes upon Reading in the time of Æthelred (Alfred's brother and predecessor), but also the precautions taken in the late war against the advance of a German invading force from the Essex coast towards Hertford and St. Albans. Such an advance, whilst avoiding the defensible line of the Lea, would

have brought the invader to a district where the main railway lines connecting the North and Midlands with London approach within a few miles of each other, a position therefore where vital communications could be easily interrupted.

Whilst operations were being developed against the Danes of East Anglia from the neighbourhood of London, the local forces of Mercia were advancing against the Five-Borough district of Middle Anglia from Stafford and Warwick. The occupation of the lands between the Thames and Humber was achieved by A.D. 921, and, having been once achieved, their union with the lands south of the Thames was thereafter continuously maintained. The result of military successes in the Danish kingdom of Yorkshire, where the Danish colonies extended to the Tees, was different. Here revolts occurred, and the dynasty of Alfred had to be content until the year 948 with the position of suzerain, with a subordinate Danish King.

Before the reign of Edgar (A.D. 959—975) the Danish settlements, which extended from the river Don and the estuary of the Humber to the Tees and Morecambe Bay, were incorporated as part of the direct sovereignty of Alfred's dynasty, and brought under the central administration. The Anglo-Saxon settlements extending north of the Tees along the east coast as far as the Forth had been more or less dominated by the Danes but not colonized. They acknowledged the supremacy of Alfred's house; but on the one hand there was probably not the same need for invoking the central authority as in the districts where Danish and Anglo-Saxon customs had to be reconciled, and, on the other, distance from the metropolitan part of England hindered its exercise. Finally this territory was divided at the Tweed between the kings of England and Scotland, an event to which we shall presently refer again.

Under Alfred's successors of his own house, Westminster took the place of advanced capital which Kingston had held in the days of Ecgberght. It was the connecting position

between the inherited dominions of Alfred and those incorporated after reconquest from the Danes. In the days of Edgar, the celebrated conference at Chester between that monarch and other sovereigns in Great Britain seemed to foreshadow the establishment of a new advanced headquarters further north, but this was during a lull in continental affairs, and events were soon to show that the principal front of the new Kingdom of England was to be the continental not the insular. Under the Norman kings the administration was far more strongly centralized than before, and the country became politically more nearly homogeneous. The kings moved their principal residence from Winchester to the Thames-crossing at Windsor, which is only one-third the distance from Westminster. London Town, that is the City, Southwark, Westminster, and their urban connections, became one great political and commercial capital connecting England with the continent. The connection was improved by the great industrial development of the Low Countries which increased the trade with the continental coasts facing the Thames estuary and the ports of Essex and East Anglia. London was also "commercial capital" in the wider sense which includes production as well as trade, for the position is not only a continental connection for the island as a whole but stands within, and near the continental corner of, the great block of good agricultural land which was the chief centre of population in the British Isles as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹ At that time no county in England had a population above one hundred to the square mile outside the solid block of eighteen surrounding London. These were, in the centre, Middlesex, Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon, Buckingham and Oxford, encircled by Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Northampton, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.

The circumstance that Henry II (A.D. 1154-1189) adhered to an English city for the capital of his Empire ought not,

¹ Philips' *New Historical Atlas*, by Ramsay Muir, Plate 44.

however, to be passed without examination. His dominions across the Channel were about as large as those in the British Isles, and as well cultivated, and the French monarchy was the principal neighbour of his Empire. Had his subjects on both sides of the Channel been of one nationality the normal position for the Angevin capital would therefore have been in the Gallic territory. If the Gallic subjects even had been of one community the imperial capital might have been on the Continent, but there was no unity among Normans, Bretons and Gascons, so that the English were by far the largest community of the Empire. As England is bounded south and east by the coast, there is no adjacent land beyond this frontier, and London, a junction of home communications well advanced towards the Calais corner of the Continent, was, accordingly, the normal site of G.H.Q.

Wales having been conquered, was included in the Kingdom of England as a Principality. The conquests in Ireland were reckoned as a "Lordship" in the titles of King John, but the island was classed as a Kingdom in those of Henry VIII, "King of England and Ireland." The examples of imperial capitals which we have so far studied are sufficient to show, without the need for explanation, that the imperial capital of England, Wales and Ireland was typically seated in London.

THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND

The Kingship of Scotland, as that of England, was the outcome of the invasions of Great Britain by the Danes and Norsemen. They sacked Iona the sanctuary of the Scots in the Western Isles about 802 A.D. They besieged and took Dumbarton, the capital of the Britons of Strathclyde in 870. They made settlements on the East Coast north of the Moray Firth. The Danes had occupied York and were colonizing the neighbourhood, and had thus cut off the Anglo-Saxons of the Lothians from those of South Britain. It was at this time that Kenneth MacAlpine transferred the relics of St. Columba from Iona to

a church which he built at Scone two miles north of Perth, and made Scone his capital. The country which he ruled was mostly north of the Highland Line, the steep face of the great fault which runs from south-west to north-east, overlooking the Lowlands. Those parts of the Highlands which are deeply indented by the sea were however largely dominated by the Vikings. The capital Scone was not only a refuge from the violated sanctuary of Iona but a substitute for the Pictish capital Forteviot six miles south-west of Perth which had been burnt by the Norsemen. Forteviot itself had replaced Abernethy six miles south-east of Perth. In times considerably later than those of Kenneth, Perth itself became the parliamentary capital, although the crownings were still held at Scone. The four capitals lie within a circle of five miles radius, and have the fundamental character in common that all lie in the gap between the Sidlaw and Ochil hills, through which the Earn and the Tay reach the Firth of Tay. This gap is the connection of the sea and of the peninsula of Fife with the great Valley of Strathmore, a natural Storehouse of agricultural wealth adjacent to the Highlands, which are a natural Stronghold. The valley of the Forth has also good agricultural land close to the Highlands. It is not however so well circumstanced for a Highland holding, for there is not as good protection of hills and estuary as that enjoyed by Strathmore, and whereas the Tay, descending to Strathmore from the north-west, joins it to the central mass of the Highlands, the Clyde coming down from the south-east links the Forth valley with the Southern Uplands. We see, therefore, that, of all the fertile districts adjacent to the Highland Stronghold, Strathmore has the advantage of the protective obstruction of the Sidlaw and Ochil hills with a gap in the centre of the obstruction providing good but defensible routes to the sea and the southern country. The four successive capitals Abernethy, Forteviot, Scone and Perth stand at this entrance. The original capitals of the present kingdom of Scotland are therefore at the best

entrance to the principal Storehouse of the early kingdom, which stands in the centre of the land frontier and is itself connected with the main recruiting ground by a defensible valley, narrowing to the pass of Killiecrankie.

Kenneth MacAlpine died about 860 A.D. It was in 945 that a successor, Malcolm I, acquired the British Kingdom of Strathclyde. His successor Indulph (A.D. 954-962) captured Edinburgh; and in 1018 as the result of the battle of Carham, Malcolm II acquired the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Lothian, which has ever since remained attached to the crown of Scotland. It is approximately defined by the counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirk and Peebles. At this time the English crown had just passed to a Danish King, Canute. It should be noted that although the Lothians were acquired by the Scottish crown in battle, the victory would not by itself explain the subsequent loyalty of the people of the Lothians to that allegiance. Obviously we have not here a case in any way analogous to the transfer of a passive population from the care of one government to that of another, such as is so often recorded in the history of Asiatic peoples. Two points deserve especial attention in estimating the connections of the Lothian Anglo-Saxons with the Kingdoms of Scotland and England respectively. Christianity first came to them from Iona not from Canterbury, and its establishment in the seventh century was accompanied by the settlement of missionary stations in fortified villages. In the second place they were for a long time cut off from the Anglo-Saxons of South Britain by the settlement of Yorkshire by the Danes, who remained heathens for a considerable time. York was captured by the Danes in 867 A.D. and it was not until 948 that the rule of the last subordinate Danish king ended. By A.D. 991 the Danish invasions of England had again begun on a serious scale, and soon the Danish colonies of Yorkshire and the eastern Midlands attached themselves to Sweyn of Denmark. Consequently the Lothian Anglo-Saxons had only had a good

contact with the kingdom of England during forty-three years of the one hundred and fifty years preceding the battle of Carham, and for a considerable part of that time their neighbours on the south were not only foreign but heathen.

After 1057 A.D. Dunfermline became a frequent residence of the kings of Scotland, and was their burying-place for two centuries. We have here once more the establishment of an advanced headquarters without the abolition of the older main headquarters. Dumfermline stands on the route south from Scone and Perth to the Lothians, from the navigable Tay to the Queensferry crossing of the Firth of Forth. The county of Fife in which it is situated is a remarkably defensible area enclosed on three sides by sea and estuary, and, nearly closed by hills on the fourth. Hilly in the centre, it has a strip of good corn land round the fringe, so that the advanced headquarters was well protected and well supplied.

There was a royal residence in Edinburgh in 1371 A.D., and the city was formally recognized as the capital in 1437. This was the last advance of the capital towards the land frontier of the kingdom. It stands in the principal block of agricultural land in Scotland. The castle hill guards the east coast route from England along the south shore of the Firth of Forth to the central isthmus of Scotland. It is also upon the fairly direct route which leads by consecutive valleys from the head of the Solway Firth to the Queensferry crossing. It also has an adjacent port (Leith) on the Firth of Forth, the estuary which provides the best connection between Scotland and the Continent. Thus both the original and final capital of the dynasty which incorporated in one State the districts which became Scotland had the forward position and the physical surroundings which we have seen to be characteristic of imperial headquarters, and the advance from Perthshire to Edinburghshire, with an intermediate headquarters in Fife, is in accordance with the usual order of events.

THE CAPITAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

In 1603 James VI of Scotland succeeded to the crown of England. He did not attempt to rule England from Edinburgh, nor did he choose the connecting position of York for his capital, but transferred his residence to London, and took the title of "King of England, Scotland and Ireland" with precedence to the peerages of the three kingdoms in that order. The title was sometimes shortened to that of "King of Great Britain and Ireland." In 1707 London became the Parliamentary Capital of Scotland and still remains so.

Since the beginning of the Mechanical Age the principal seat of production in Great Britain has shifted to the part between a line joining Bristol and Hull and the Highland line in Scotland. The improvement in transport and telegraphy during this age of invention has however so minimized the effect of distance that a change of capital has never come within the scope of practical politics.

From 1807 to 1921 London was the Parliamentary capital of Ireland, but in 1922 a new status was instituted for Ireland the effect of which it is at present difficult to foresee.

THE CAPITAL OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, AND ITS POLITICAL
GEOGRAPHY IN A.D. 1900 AND 1922

The advantage of a region as the metropolis of an Empire depends upon two conditions, first, its place in the path of civilization, and secondly its position in relation to a world proportionately developed throughout. If the former be favourable, the inhabitants have an opportunity for the early extension of their national territory; if the latter be also favourable, they have a good prospect of retaining their status as a Great Power.

The historic aspect of the geographical advantages of the British Isles for maritime dominion can be surely traced. Beginning our comparative survey in the Far East we observe

first that China presents a huge semi-circular salient to the sea so that communication between places on its coast is shortest by land. The inducement was therefore to develop inland, not coasting, transport for home communication.

India, being an immense triangular promontory, also offered little inducement to the development of coasting in home waters. It was therefore in accordance with natural conditions that its goods destined for western countries should be shipped in vessels hailing from re-entrant coasts, such as those of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. As the path of civilization proceeded westwards and the lands sloping to the Mediterranean were developed, maritime activity on this sea outstripped that on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, owing to the greater opportunities for navigation.

In the Baltic lands, as in those of the Mediterranean, the shortest communication lies across the sea, and is facilitated by islands. Accordingly the intercourse between the Mediterranean and Baltic by the Vistula and other routes led to the acquisition by the Baltic people of the Mediterranean skill in shipbuilding. The adjoining North Sea, on account of its great fishing grounds, was almost comparable in the extent of its supplies to a rich country, and navigation became bolder in its more open waters. The people on the Atlantic shores of Europe, both insular and continental, imbibed this new confidence at sea and profited by their position between the North Sea and Baltic on the one side and the Mediterranean on the other. Thus Europe, having the most indented coast of the Old World, became in the normal course of events the great home of shipping.

The modern extension of coasting voyages was inaugurated by the Portuguese, who were favourably situated for the route to the developed Asiatic countries. Trans-oceanic voyages were also initiated from the Iberian peninsula, which of all European lands is nearest to the boundary between the Easterly Trade Winds and the Westerly Winds, which favour respectively the outward and return passage between the Peninsula and

America. We may pause here to consider the relative opportunities of China and Europe for the discovery of America. Historically China was at the disadvantage already mentioned that her salient coast did not favour the early development of navigation. But even if her shipping in the time of Columbus had been equal to the European, there would have been no advantage in a transoceanic voyage, since the coast from Singapore to Chile follows in its general direction a great circle, and therefore no shortening is achieved by departing from it. China also suffers from the permanent physical disadvantage that her distance from the temperate parts of America is twice as great as that of America from Europe. The American Indians in the fifteenth century were still mostly primitive, and navigation in the New World was altogether backward.

The European origin of oceanic Empires is therefore easily explained on geographical grounds. The coasts of Europe are not only suited to the development of navigation in home waters but are as well, or better, situated than any other region for access to the best natural ports of the world. The hemisphere which contains most of the land has its centre near the western entrance of the English Channel. As, however, the northern ocean is blocked by ice, all the sea routes lie south or west, so that the ports with shortest access to the World's coasts are situated further south. But advantage of maritime position does not depend so much upon accessibility to coasts in general as to those which have good inland communication. The naturally important commercial ports are those which combine good harbourage with good inland access. The general requirements are two, a deep-water approach to a sheltered haven, and a gentle inland gradient to a large interior. Taking both these considerations into account, it appears that north-western Europe has the best maritime conditions in the World, for not only has it almost the shortest sailing routes to the World's coasts, but it has the best-graded approach to the interior of the largest area of land in the World.

Such being the general historical and physical advantages of Europe for the acquisition and retention of trans-oceanic Empire, we have next to compare the relative advantages of the British Isles and the countries of the Continent. The area of the British Isles is about equal to the average size of the natural regions which have become national countries in the neighbouring parts of the mainland. They are smaller than Spain, France, Germany, or Sweden; but larger than Italy, Portugal, Holland, and Denmark, and nearly equal to Norway. They are comparable in fertility to the richest of these countries, so that as long as European nations were upon an agricultural basis the government of the British Isles was economically on a par with its continental neighbours. The Spanish Peninsula had an initial advantage of position in the era of colonial expansion, but in the long run this was more than counterbalanced by the superior harbours of the British Isles, which are better than those of any country in Continental Europe.

Insularity was an even greater advantage in the competition for oversea dominion. It contributed indeed to the loss of the dominions held in France by the Norman dynasty and their successors, for, with approximate equality of resources, the intermittent and expensive communication by sea was unable to compete with the continuous contact on land, either socially or strategically. But thereafter the British Government had neither the liabilities nor opportunities of a European frontier, and the expansive energies of the nation were concentrated upon oceanic enterprises to which continental nations could devote only a part of their ambition.

Under the changed conditions of the Mechanical Age the deposits of coal, iron ore and salt made the British Isles a great Storehouse for manufacture, including shipbuilding. Consequently the country still has a much larger surplus production than any other land of the Empire and contains most of the White people, who are the political bond of the Empire. These islands are therefore its principal Storehouse.

We have next to enquire whether their position in the oceanic Empire is related to its Frontiers and internal communications in manner typical of continental capitals, and in this enquiry we shall have to consider the islands separately as well as together. The government of a continental State concentrates the national army by roads traversing private territory, the British national forces have to use the common highway of the ocean for their preliminary concentration, hence the principal frontier is the foreign coast line, not the boundary of Canada or India. As the principal group of foreign Powers is in Europe it is evident that Great Britain, which faces the Channel, North Sea, and Baltic entrance, and is within comparatively easy reach of the Straits of Gibraltar, is better placed than any other land of the Empire for guarding the approaches to its internal maritime communications. So far as concerns foreign frontiers it is therefore a better position for the capital than any other land of the Empire.

The surrounding sea with only a moderate length of naval lines to guard, makes the Island tactically a Stronghold. The population being, however, much greater than can be fed by cultivation of the island on any system of farming now practised on a national scale, Great Britain is no longer strategically a Stronghold, and this makes its suitability for the imperial capital exceptionally dependent on the security of its line of communication with the parts of the Empire which produce a large surplus of food. Since moreover the outlying parts of the Empire are relatively small recruiting bases for White troops they are reciprocally dependent for security upon the line of communication with Great Britain, the chief source of reinforcements. The line of communication between Great Britain on the one hand and the Oversea Dominions and India on the other is closely flanked by the harbours of Ireland. Consequently the question whether London is typically situated as the Imperial capital can only be answered by reference to the political geography of the

Empire. This has been greatly altered since 1914. The National status of the Dominions has been officially recognised and expressed in the terms of Mandates.¹ It does not however affect the exercise at London of all the functions necessary to the capital of a Confederate Empire.

The case of the treaty with the Irish Free State is however very different. By it the control of the Irish harbours is no longer fully vested in the London Admiralty and War Office so that the Metropolitan Region of the Empire no longer includes the principal junction of Internal Communications. This is a departure from a principle which (as demonstrated in the preceding chapters) has been hitherto observed by the Great Powers of both ancient and modern times, and therefore makes a startling change in the political map of the world. However, the resources of Great Britain and the parts of the Empire oversea are so great in comparison to those of Ireland that the control of their inter-communication may not be as much changed in military fact as in political theory.

¹ See *A Geography of Imperial Defence*, by Vaughan Cornish, page 59.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.—IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN JAPAN

THE FEDERAL AND COMMERCIAL CAPITALS OF THE UNITED STATES

IN North America a Great Power has arisen, and alongside its territory a great Colonial Dominion. Both are English-speaking communities and their largest racial element is British. This outcome of competition with the Spanish, French, and Dutch is connected with the circumstance that the British Isles are a better base for maritime power than any of those natural regions in Continental Europe which have become national countries.

The direct southern entrance to the main interior, or prairie region, of North America is by the mouth of the Mississippi, near the northern border of the Spanish conquests. Here the mean annual temperature, 69° Fahrenheit, is much higher than is found in Europe. The direct northern entrance to the prairies is by the St. Lawrence, where the French established themselves. Between these entrances lies the coast on which were established the British Colonies which became the thirteen original States of the American Republic.

The history of the American people is fully recorded from the beginning of their Colonial settlement, whereas the beginnings of all other dominant nations are obscured by antiquity. Thus in the case of the American Republic we can define the original national home without resorting to the indications afforded by the sites of capitals. This original country nearly

coincided with the eastward slope of the Appalachian system of mountains from their southern extremity to the entrance of the Bay of Fundy. The conditions of access to the coast both by sea and land change progressively as we pass from south to north in a manner which is most readily grasped if the geological explanation be given along with facts for which it accounts. According to the geologists there has been a comparatively recent rise of the southern part and a depression of the middle and northern. The result is that in the southern section, Georgia and the Carolinas, there is a plain giving easy access to the coast from the landward side but the sea is shallow and the harbours bad. In the northern section, New England, the harbours are good but the interior is so much broken up that inland access is difficult. The best entrances, taking joint account of maritime and land access to the coast, are provided by the central section at the three openings of Chesapeake Bay, Delaware Bay, and New York Bay, of which the first and last are about two hundred and fifty nautical miles from one another by sea. All the cities which have served as political or commercial capitals of the whole American Republic, as well as those which were during the Civil War the capitals of its opposing parts, are on tidal water communicating with one of these three continental entrances. Philadelphia, which had been the most important of the colonial cities since the end of the seventeenth century, was the national capital from the ratification of peace with Great Britain and the withdrawal of the British from New York in 1783 until and including the year 1789. New York was capital during 1789 and 1790, then Philadelphia again from 1790 to 1800. But the States had developed independently of one another from separate centres, communication between their principal seats of population was difficult, and local State patriotism was very strong. It was feared that to seat the national capital in the leading city of an influential State might give this State a predominance contrary to the principle of Federal equality. Accordingly the President was empowered to select a seat of government on the Potomac,

a river flowing into Chesapeake Bay. The spot selected is on the left bank at the head of tide and navigation, where the city of Washington now stands. The significance of the site is its connecting position between the two climatic regions of the thirteen original States. Those to the north have a mean annual temperature similar to that of northern Europe, a climate in which men of British stock enjoy active exercise. South of the Potomac the States extend to districts where the mean temperature is higher than in Europe, and field work is not willingly undertaken by men of our race. The result was that the States north of the Potomac had a White peasantry, those to the south Negro labour, and there was consequently a great difference between their social and economic life. In the Civil War, Maryland, the State on the left bank of the Potomac, was at first divided in opinion, but the Northern States were able to hold Washington and retained it as their capital.

Richmond, one hundred miles from Washington in a southerly direction, was established as capital of the Confederate States by an Act of the Provisional Government in 1861. It is situated at the head of navigation on the James river which enters Chesapeake Bay below the point where this inlet is joined by the Potomac. The distance by land between Washington and New York is two hundred miles, and the route is level and almost straight.

The foundation of the Federal Republic was followed by a rapid territorial expansion. The present frontier of the continuous continental territory was reached by 1853, seventy-seven years after the Declaration of Independence. The area occupied and effectually controlled in the thirteen original States I reckon roughly at two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand square miles. The adjacent area since added is about nine times as large. It is organized in thirty-five States which have the same political status as the original thirteen, but which, unlike them, never had an existence apart from the Republic of which they are members. They all lie to the west of the original block, so that it is evident that Wash-

ington no longer occupies the typical position of a Federal capital, which would now more nearly coincide with Chicago.

In relation to its present dominions Washington has a forward position, facing Europe, where are five of the six other Great Powers, so that its site is rather that of a Sovereign than a Federal capital. Singularly enough this is the reason of its continued suitability as the seat of government, for the Republic consolidated while it grew.¹ Although, however, the position of Washington in the political world of to-day accords approximately with the position of the sovereign capital of a Great Power, there is another city, New York, which occupies the perfectly typical site, and this has grown to be the commercial capital of the Republic. Washington is a small city by comparison, in spite of the advantages which accrue to the seat of government. When we say that of these cities, two hundred miles apart, one has precisely and the other approximately the typical site for the sovereign capital, the huge size of the Republic and its remoteness from other Great Powers are to be kept in mind. These matters are comparative, and two hundred miles is small compared to the breadth of the United States and to that of the Atlantic. The distance between Washington and New York, which was a great separation one hundred years ago, is, moreover, but a slight barrier to intercourse now that they are linked by several railway tracks and efficient telephones. Thus the combined effect of political consolidation and improved means of communication have preserved Washington as the seat of government. Nevertheless it is not the headquarters of the other national activities, and if we are to study the concentration of American life we must examine also the historical geography of the commercial capital of the Republic, which is also the leading city of the New World.

In 1790 A.D., fourteen years after the Declaration of Independence, a strict census was taken, which showed the White

¹ See in particular *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, by Ellen Churchill Semple.

population of the Republic to be rather more than three million, and the Coloured seven hundred and fifty thousand. The census of 1910 gave nearly eighty-two million White and ten million Coloured persons.¹ The phenomenal increase in the White population to twenty-six times its number in one hundred and twenty years is owing to the enormous influx of European immigrants.

As already pointed out, the ports from New England to Virginia have access to a long and relatively narrow lowland bounded by the Appalachian system of mountains, which formed the boundary of effectual occupation in Colonial times. Few peaks of the Appalachians exceed six thousand feet in height and none attain the altitude of perpetual snow, but the mountains are nevertheless a formidable barrier on account of their breadth, their thickly wooded surface, the number of the constituent ranges, and the fact that these run in long ridges parallel to the general direction of the whole mountain system. A pass leading through the first range is not continued across the next, through which an opening must be sought far away on the right or left hand. The rivers generally are not navigable beyond the lowest slope of the first range, where falls occur. The mountains do not reach the southern part of the Georgia, and there is consequently a broad lowland access from that State to the Mississippi valley. This however is considerably to the south of the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, and the annual and summer temperatures are such as are characteristic in Asia and Northern Africa but are scarcely met with in Europe. Consequently where the Appalachian barrier could be turned on the south the climatic conditions were adverse to the establishment of communities derived from north-western Europe, where great heat is unknown. This enhances the importance of any lowland route through the Appalachians. Far away to the north their Canadian extension is breached by

¹ The census of 1920 gives a total population of nearly one hundred and six million, which implies a White population of ninety-four or ninety-five million.

the lower St. Lawrence, but the mouth of this river is at the northern extremity of the fertile country and moreover its channel is blocked by ice in winter. From the fine open-water harbour at the mouth of the Hudson, however, there is a low and easy route through the Appalachians. The valley of the lower Hudson has so sunk since the time of its formation that it has become a deep tidal inlet for one hundred and fifty miles. From near the head of this tideway the valley of the Mohawk, a tributary of the Hudson, provides a direct western route about ninety miles in length through the Appalachians which nowhere rises above the level of four hundred and fifty feet. The natural superiority of this route over all other passes is shown by comparison of the present New York Central railroad which follows it, with the Pennsylvania railroad which follows the next best route. The maximum height attained by the New York Central in crossing the Appalachians is four hundred and forty-five, by the Pennsylvanian two thousand one hundred and sixty, feet. On the former there is not a steep gradient or any great embankment or trestle between the mouth of the Hudson and Lake Erie. The latter follows a switchback path and has a section five miles long in which the gradient is eighty feet per mile.¹ A map showing the limits of the ice during the glacial epoch forcibly suggests a reason for the Mohawk valley having been cut down to a lower level than that of the valleys further south, for the southern limit of glaciation just includes the mouth of the Hudson and extends thence in the direction of the lower part of Lake Erie. South of Lake Ontario, between the upper waters of the Mohawk and Lake Erie, lie a number of small lakes, remains of the glacial period, and it is easy to realize how, during the time when the ice was melting away, erosion in the pre-existing Mohawk valley was greatly increased. This valley has been cut where soft shales outcrop along an east and west line at the southern base of the Adirondack mountains. It appears when viewed from the level of the river

¹ *The Eastern Gateway of the United States*, by Prof. A. P. Brigham, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. XIII (1899), pp. 513-524.

as a trench five hundred feet deep with moderately steep sides and half a mile wide at bottom. From above, however, it can be seen that this is only the lower part of a valley from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet deep, with a total width of several miles, between the Adirondacks and the Catskill plateau. From the western elbow of the Mohawk River at Rome, where the altitude is four hundred and forty-five feet, the New York Central Railway follows an almost level track through Syracuse, near Lake Onondaga, to Rochester on the Genesee river along the fertile plain bordering Lake Ontario, over which the waters of the lake formerly spread when the northern ice-cap was receding. After crossing the Genesee river the line surmounts a height of eight hundred feet near Batavia, the highest point between New York and the Mississippi, and at Buffalo, near the commencement of Niagara river, reaches Lake Erie, where the water-level is five hundred and seventy feet above sea. From Buffalo there are two ways to the interior, by land over the prairies and by the thousand miles of level navigation through the chain of the Great Lakes. The advantages of the route from New York to Buffalo by the Hudson, Mohawk and the coast plain of Lake Ontario, developed by the Erie Canal opened in 1825 and by railways of which the first was completed in 1853, have in the long run enabled New York to outgrow Philadelphia and Baltimore on the south, and also Boston on the east, which is separated by an outlying part of the Appalachian range from the Mohawk gap. Both the southern and northern members of the original thirteen States participated in the peopling of the lands beyond the Appalachians and south of the Great Lakes, but the main stream of immigration from oversea was, until towards the end of the nineteenth century, from northern Europe, and being composed not of merchant adventurers but mainly of working men seeking homes, it was the cooler part of the trans-Appalachian country which was mostly sought. The best route from Europe is moreover by way of the Hudson and the Mohawk valley, and this further tended to increase the importance of New York

in comparison with other ports of the original States of the Union.

The Hudson has also a connection which makes it the best route between the metropolitan part of Canada and the United States. This is the Richelieu valley which prolongs the trough of the Hudson in the northerly direction and reaches the valley of the lower St. Lawrence after threading a gap in the northern prolongation of the Appalachian mountains by a route which only rises to one hundred and fifty feet at the watershed. As, moreover, the St. Lawrence is frozen in winter, the ice-free port of New York is an important connection between Canada and Europe. Consequently New York is the most important point of connection between the United States and her principal continental neighbour.

The Atlantic ports of the United States have a permanent advantage over those on the Pacific in facing across the narrower ocean with the broader slope at the back of it. They have also at present the advantage that Europe is more developed economically than the Far East.

Finally the development of the great coal and oil fields around Pittsburgh has centred manufacturing production in the north-eastern corner of the United States, so that both the seat of production and the lines of home and foreign communication make New York the typical site for the commercial capital.

The occurrence of great deposits of coal and other economic minerals around Pittsburgh in the State of Pennsylvania and other parts of the Appalachian region has been a prime factor in ensuring for the nation originally based on its Atlantic slope, the position of a Great Power. As in the case of Great Britain this unforeseen factor has perpetuated the advantages of a geographical position originally chosen for the sake of other conditions.

THE IROQUOIS CAPITAL

The modern state of New York was the key position in the wars between the British on the Atlantic seaboard and the

French in the St. Lawrence valley. This valley breaches the Appalachian barrier, there being direct water-connection from Montreal to the interior by Lakes Ontario and Erie. The shortest land-route from the St. Lawrence to the prairies of the Mississippi valley is by the gap between Lake Ontario and the Adirondack mountains. This district connects the settlements on the Atlantic foreground of the Appalachians with the lakes and the north-western prairies beyond, which are now part of the Canadian Dominion. It is also a link between the Appalachian foreground and the southern prairies by way of the Ohio valley. The exclusive command of the district was therefore desirable for both the British Colonists based on the Atlantic slope of the Appalachians and the French Colonists based on the St. Lawrence valley. The plain which borders the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and extends in the central part for a distance of about seventy miles from its shores, was however occupied by four of the five tribes of the Iroquois Confederation; the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Oneidas, who, with the Mohawks (whose villages were in the Mohawk valley), formed a well-knit political unit.

In July 1609 a party of Mohawks encountered the French of Canada and their Indian allies at Tironderoga, at the southern end of Lake Champlain, and were defeated. In September of the same year the Dutch entered New York Bay and sailed up the Hudson. They at once entered into trade relations with the Iroquois confederacy, exchanging iron and lead, powder and muskets, for furs. The Dutch were presently dispossessed of their settlements at New York and Albany by the naval forces of Great Britain, and a province of New York created under the British crown in 1664. The newcomers continued the relations of trade and alliance with the Iroquois confederacy, thus deflecting a large part of the fur trade of the Great Lakes and the country beyond from the St. Lawrence route. From the first, and alike under Dutch and British, New York City was more a place of trade

than a centre of production. Profitable as was the fur trade to the White Men, the traffic in munitions was even more profitable to the Iroquois confederacy. It helped them to hold their own against the French of Canada and enabled them to do much more than merely hold their own against other Indian tribes not so well munitioned as themselves. Their confederate State is so instructive in political geography that it repays study in spite of its small population and comparatively brief existence.

When the Europeans came to North America the north-eastern part of the continent was sparsely peopled by tribes engaged in the settled occupation of agriculture and the almost stationary pursuit of lake and river fishing. The food supply was, however, supplemented by hunting, which took the men far from home. There were no horses, and no animals had been domesticated for food, so that there were no tribes of pastoral nomads. The more advanced tribes lived in wooden cabins which were grouped in villages, often defended by well-constructed timber stockades. Around the village were the cultivated fields, and many of the villages were situated on the shores of lakes or the bank of a river which supplied a considerable part of the food. Fish was dried and cured, and there is evidence that trade in dried fish was carried on with tribes whose situation did not allow of their obtaining locally this important supplement to vegetable diet, which was all the farms provided. Rivers were especially useful as trade-routes on account of the fact that the Indians had no beasts of burden, and, in the more northern districts particularly, the best waterways were chains of lakes, often connected by rivers. The exceptional lightness of the birch-bark canoe made portage between the waterways easier than had been the case in Europe during primitive times. The lines of land communication were the trails through the virgin forest which covered most of the country, narrow paths originally made in many cases by wild game on the way to watering places or salt licks. These

trails or tracks were followed for great distances in single or "Indian" file by hunters, or warriors on the war-path. The country for a considerable distance around the permanent villages of a tribe was claimed as its proprietary hunting ground, but there was, of course, much poaching, and mutual encroachments on each other's hunting grounds were a fruitful source of inter-tribal war. Iron however, being unknown, and weapons mostly of stone, the loss of life in these frequent conflicts must have been much less than it afterwards became when Europeans bartered iron, lead and firearms for the furs of the hunter and trapper.

The country of interlacing lakes and rivers mostly lies north and west of the St. Lawrence, and much of it is of inferior fertility. South and east of the right bank of the St. Lawrence there is a lake-and-river region in Vermont, where the soil and climate provide mostly pasture; hay and forage being to-day the principal crops. These products were of relatively little value to the original population which had no flocks or herds. South of Lake Ontario, however, there is one lake-and-river region which has not only the general advantages of facility of water transport and a stock of fish but also a splendid fertility. Maize and tobacco, apples and grapes, are all now grown, and maize was cultivated here in considerable quantities by the Indian tribes. The lakes lie near the southern margin of a plain nearly level with the waters of Ontario, which stands much lower than the other Great Lakes. This plain was part of a greater Ontario in times not geologically remote. The largest of these lakes are the Canandaigua, Seneca, Cayuga and Oneida, all connected with the Oswego river which debouches near the eastern end of Ontario. Beyond these lakes on the west are smaller ones, lying east of the Genesee river which debouches in the middle of the south shore of Ontario not far from where the town of Rochester now stands. The general form of both the larger and smaller lakes is that of "finger" or "ribbon" lakes, and most of them stretch their length approximately

north and south. The length of the country from the east end of Oneida Lake to the Genesee river on the west is roughly one hundred miles, the width of the plain from north to south between Ontario and the line of cascades along the steep descent from the water parting of the Susquehanna and Alleghany rivers about sixty to seventy miles. This tract was held in four strips, extending from the shore of Ontario to the line of the waterfalls, by four tribes, the holdings, reckoned from west to east, being those of the Senecas, who held the Genesee river (and whose name remains as that of one of the two largest lakes) the Cayugas, the Onondagas, and lastly, the Oneidas on the east. These were four of the original five tribes of the Iroquois Confederation, the formation of which is referred to 1570 A.D. or some earlier date. The other tribe was the Mohawk, who held the valley of the Mohawk river extending eastwards from near Lake Oneida. This valley, which we have already described as lying considerably below all the surrounding country, is of remarkable fertility, comparable to that of the district of the Finger Lakes. The valley of the Mohawk, and the vicinity of the lakes from Lake Oneida to near the Genesee river, were the metropolitan district of the Iroquois nation and of the Empire which they established over distant districts occupied by other tribes. Here, near the banks of the Mohawk and not far from the shores of the lakes which bear the tribal names, were the permanent villages, some four and twenty in number, in which were the cabins occupied by much the greater part of the population of the Confederacy. This population amounted in the middle of the seventeenth century, near the height of its power, to about fifteen thousand persons, with a fighting strength of rather more than two thousand warriors. If we take the number of villages as five to a tribe and consider them as accounting for the whole population, there would be an average of six hundred persons in each village.

Neither primitive temple nor rude palace marked the capital

of a tribe, but the kindling of the Council Fire. Nevertheless the gathering-place was nearly permanent in position, and is often spoken of as "the Council Fire," as one might say "the Capital," of the tribe. Indeed, as the word capital means by derivation headquarters, not city, the fixed place of the Council Fire may properly be called the capital of the tribe. In the Iroquois confederacy, as in other confederations of Indian tribes, a Great-Council, consisting of representatives of the constituent tribes, was called at intervals to consider matters of common policy, and the place of its meeting was called "the Great-Council Fire" which means the Federal, or Confederate, capital. A Confederacy was known as a "Long House," presumably from the shape of communal or other dwellings formed by joining cabins end to end. Thus the territory of a confederacy became known as a Long House,¹ and as the Iroquois was the most powerful and enduring of the Confederacies, and that with which the White people had most to do, its territory came to be known specifically as "The Long House."

The council fire of the Senecas, when its position first becomes known to us, was at the village of Tsonontowan near the present village of Naples, in Ontario County, New York State, three or four miles southward from the southern end of Lake Canadaigua, and on a river flowing to it. The Cayuga tribe occupied the shores of the lake of that name and had three villages, but I cannot identify the site of the capital called Goiogouen.

Away to the east the villages of the Mohawks were between Schenectady and Utica in the valley of the Mohawk river, but in this case also I cannot make sure of the position of a capital. For the two remaining tribes, however, the informa-

¹ Fenimore Cooper says that the tribes called Lenni Lenape had "the 'long house,' or Great Council fire of the nation on the Delaware River where were seated one branch of this numerous people, the tribe that guarded the sacred precincts of the Council house." *The Last of the Mohicans* (Preface).

tion is quite definite. The Oneidas, who come next to the Mohawks, shifted slightly from time to time the position of their Council Fire, but it was always lighted within the valleys of Oneida Creek (flowing to Oneida Lake) and the neighbouring Oriskany Creek. It will be noticed that, as in the case of the Seneca capital, the situation is near the upper end of a lake, that is the end furthest from the shore of Ontario. Near the sites of the Oneida Council Fire there are at the present time railways running south to the country of the Delaware river, as well as east and west railroad connections. I shall refer again to the probable significance of the southern connection, but a more obvious factor in fixing the site of the Council Fire is its position on, or near, the portage which connects the Oswego river and Oneida lake on the one side and the Mohawk river on the other.

West of the Oneidas were the Onondagas. The most distinctive feature in their territory is the small lake which bears their name. They were the middle member of the original five tribes. The sixth tribe, the Tuscoraras, who joined the Confederacy later, were refugees from a distance, not neighbours adding adjacent territory, so that throughout the history of the Confederation the territory of the Onondagas was the middle sector, with the Cayuga and Seneca holdings on the west, and those of the Oneidas and Mohawks on the east. The Great-Council Fire of the Confederacy was lighted in the Onondaga territory, which connects those of the eastern and western tribes. The spot was the Federal Capital of the Five Nations. I have found no mention of any other position for a tribal meeting place of the Onondagas, and the fact that the place of the Great-Council Fire was always called "Onondaga," strongly suggests that the positions were one and the same. The leading chief of the Onondagas was *ex officio* convener of the Great-Council and presided at its sittings. The Onondagas, however, have not left so great a mark in the history of the Continent as the Senecas and Mohawks, which is in accordance with the experience

of other expanding confederacies, in which the frontier States have the greatest opportunity of enlargement. In the case of the Iroquois territories each tribe had, indeed, a narrow southern frontier, but the Senecas and Mohawks had also respectively a western and eastern foreign frontier, and the new international trade-route resulting from the advent of the Europeans traversed the Iroquois territory from east to west.

The frequent but slight shifting in the position where the Great-Council Fire was lighted helps rather than hinders our understanding of the significance of the position. In 1682 the Jesuit I. de Lamberville¹ found the Indians transporting their corn, effects, and lodges two leagues from the "Onondaga" where they had been for the last nineteen years in order to be nearer to firewood and more fertile fields. Between 1600 and 1756 Onondaga occupied eight different sites, the positions of which are specified in *The Handbook of American Indians*,² but all these positions lie within a circle of seven miles radius, of which the centre is situated twelve miles south-east of the upper, south-eastern, end of Onondaga Lake. This circle is not only a connecting position between the Oneida capital on the east and the Cayuga villages on the west but has valley connections with the foreign country of the Delaware river to the south, and is now traversed by two railways which cross the southern watershed.

Thus the three known capitals in the territories of the four Iroquois tribes who had land around the lakes are all situated in the valleys above the lakes, where the streams flow down to the lakes which in turn overflow to the lake Ontario. If, however, we examine the map of New York State as it is to-day we see that the great railways run from Syracuse to the important city of Rochester past the lower ends of the Cayuga, Seneca and Canadaigua Lakes, that is between them and Ontario. The southern ends of the Finger Lakes are,

¹ See *Handbook of American Indians (North of Mexico)*, Bureau of American Ethnology, part 2, p. 135.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 134.

therefore, to-day in a more secluded position than their lower, or northern ends. This tends to make us regard the Iroquois capitals as being towards the rear, not the front, of their country, but attention to the conditions of their time indicates that this conclusion would be mistaken, and that they occupied an advanced position in the strips of tribal territory which ran from the shore of Ontario towards the southern watershed of the lake basin. The crossing of Lake Ontario was as formidable a task for canoe navigation as the direct crossing of the Mediterranean in the early days of sailing ships. The waves upon this great inland water have been recorded as attaining a height from trough to crest of quite twenty feet.¹ Thus we may regard the Iroquois coast of Ontario from Oswego to Irondequoit Bay, near the mouth of the Genesee river, as almost unapproachable except by a coasting voyage from the east or west, before the White people improved the means of navigation. On the south, on the contrary, there was a frontier connected with extensive territories. These southern lands were not unfavourably circumstanced in respect of climate, agricultural soil, and woodland game, but being far from the sea and devoid of lakes, were not well stocked with fish. Both east and west of the Iroquois villages the country was, on the contrary, well off in the matter of fisheries. Thus the southern frontier was that across which the Iroquois had the best opportunity for trade in dried fish, a commodity which their well-stocked lakes must have enabled them to supply in large quantities. It is reasonable therefore to conclude that the southern extremities of the lakes were better positions than the northern for trade with foreign tribes. We shall presently come across another example of the same kind when considering the position of the old Inca capital, which turned its back on an unsailed sea.

¹ See *Wave Action in relation to Engineering Structures*, by the late D. D. Gaillard, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, p. 80. Measurements near the shore at Oswego gave 14 to 18 feet above the normal surface of the lake.

The Storehouse occupied by the Iroquois tribes suddenly became a necessary link in an international trade-route, that between the fur-producing district of the Great Lakes and Great Britain, the northern route by the St. Lawrence being in the hands of France. Simultaneously the metropolitan district of the Iroquois became an indispensable strategic buffer between the French colonial base on the St. Lawrence and the back-blocks of the British colonies. The hands of those who held this Crossways were immediately strengthened by the British, with whose interests they identified themselves for reasons which are easily understood. In ancient times in Eurasia barbarous tribes similarly placed were often assisted for similar reasons by their civilized neighbours, but in these cases there had never been so great a disparity in the efficiency of weapons as that between the North American Indians, who were in the Stone Age, and the European colonists who had not only steel but firearms. Consequently the Iroquois were much strengthened (particularly in relation to the tribes on the south-west) and established a supremacy which reached westwards to the Mississippi and south to the Tennessee river. The length of this region reckoning from Oswego on Ontario to the southern bend of the Tennessee river is in round numbers, eight hundred miles. The breadth reckoned from the Alleghanies to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi, and again, from the Alleghanies further north across to the southern end of Lake Erie is about two hundred and fifty miles. Thus a country as large as France was controlled by two thousand warriors from a metropolitan Storehouse which the progress of the outside world had made an important Crossways.

THE INCA CAPITAL

The Empire of the Incas was of a date which in Europe belongs to late mediæval or early modern times, but was organized under conditions as primitive as those of the earliest recorded dynasties of Egypt or Chaldæa. The distance of

the remoter provinces from the capital was as great as in the Chinese, Persian, and Roman Empires at their widest extent. The organization of the industrial life of the people was as complete as in any Empire of the Old World continents, not even excepting that of ancient Egypt. The superiority of power and civilization over all other parts of the continent was far greater than in the case of any one of the ancient Empires with which we have already dealt. The size of the Empire was the more remarkable because of the backward state of the industrial arts. Tools were of stone, navigation scarcely existed, and transport was necessarily slower in a continent which had neither horses nor camels. The pre-eminence of the Inca State above all others in South America is the more remarkable on account of the great physical similarity of the inhabitants of that continent. Both in Eurasia and Africa there are races which differ greatly from one another in physical type, and political pre-eminence in one part has often been obtained by an immigrant race possessing inherited advantages. South America is physically the most isolated of the four great continents, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that its one great Empire was formed by a race which acquired its civilization locally and owed nothing to external intercourse. Cuzco, the Inca capital, is situated thirteen and a half degrees south of the Equator at an altitude of eleven thousand feet. The well-defined district of which it is the local capital is bounded east and west by the high walls of the Eastern and the Central Cordillera, and on the south by the mountain knot of Vilacañota which connects those ranges.¹ On the north it extends to the gap in the Cordillera where rivers tributary to the Amazon break through the mountains and commence a rapid descent to the lowlands. This district, the home of the Incas when the Spaniards arrived, is about two hundred and fifty miles long and fifty broad, so that it is comparable in size to the small European States, of which Switzerland is an example, which

¹ *The Incas of Peru*, by Sir Clements Markham, p. 79.

were formed in mountain districts. The Incas regarded the next Andean valley or "basin" on the south, that comprising Lake Titicaca, as their original home, and here, particularly at Tiahuanaco south of the lake, great buildings, apparently much older than those of Cuzco, still remain. The Titicaca valley is about one hundred and fifty miles each way. Unlike that of Cuzco it is an area of inland drainage, and the mountain protection is therefore perhaps even more complete but in soil and climate it appears to be at present excelled by the Cuzco basin. The general character of both is typical of the Andean plateau, an open country well suited for agriculture, where certain plants of exceptional food value were indigenous, of which maize and the potato are the most important. The latter, it is said, was originally limited to this plateau. The main Storehouse of the Inca Empire was the Andean plateau, a long narrow region between the Eastern and Central Cordillera over which the Inca rule was extended from the central part which they originally held. Possessing the plateau, they were easily able to dominate completely the narrow and comparatively arid country between the Central Cordillera and the coast, and to establish military colonies in the Montaña, or forested country sloping eastwards from the crests of the Eastern Cordillera. The long and narrow Andean plateau is divided into many basins by the mountain knots already referred to which connect the Central with the Eastern Cordillera, and the process of empire building presumably consisted to a great extent in the unification of communities established in these valleys or basins. In the case of the extension of the Inca Empire over the plateau portion of modern Ecuador we know from history that it was so, for Quito in Ecuador was the capital of a civilized State not dissimilar to that in which Cuzco was situated, and was only conquered from the latter in the fifteenth century. The Cordillera are closer together in Ecuador than in Peru, the basins or valleys between the mountain knots are smaller, and the original communities were pre-

sumably not so large, just as to-day the administrative divisions of Ecuador are smaller than those of Peru.

Prescott¹ places the northern limit of the Inca Empire in 2° North latitude near the boundary between the modern Republic of Ecuador and Colombia. The river Rapel in Chile and, alternatively, the river Maule have been assigned as the southern limit, and the parallel of 35° S. may therefore be taken as the boundary of the Empire in this direction. The shortest distance overland between these extremities is scarcely less than three thousand miles. Massive ruins are met with throughout a country fourteen hundred miles in length, and paved roads have been traced even further. The extreme length of the Empire, as has been already pointed out, is roughly equal to that of the ancient Empire of China, of the Achæmenian Empire of Persia, and of the Roman Empire. But whereas these three great Empires of Eurasia and Africa expanded from their original bases along the parallels of latitude, that of the Incas expanded to the north and south. We have seen that in the continents of the Old World the path of Empire was nearly isothermal, until the oceanic boundaries of communication were reached, spreading most readily to places which differed little in climate. In South America also the path of Empire was nearly isothermal, but, owing to the distribution of altitude along the north-and-south Andean plateau, the line of equal temperature runs meridionally in that all-important region of the Inca Empire. This singular fact is well illustrated by the following data for Cuzco and for the present capitals of Ecuador and Chile:

Locality.	South Latitude.	Altitude in feet.	Mean Annual Temperature.
Quito	0° 14'	9,350	55·6° F.
Cuzco	13° 31'	11,380	59·0° F.
Santiago	33° 27'	1,840	58·0° F.

¹ *History of the Conquest of Peru*, by William H. Prescott, Chapter I.

The fact that Quito, although nearer than Cuzco to the Equator and at a lesser height, has a somewhat lower temperature, is connected with its greater rainfall.

Between the high regions of Ecuador and Colombia is a lower and wetter district of tropical forest which interrupted civilization. North of it there were beginnings of civilization in the drier highlands of Colombia, and it is possible that, but for the arrival of the Spaniards, the Inca Empire might have been extended to include this district.

In the South, as in the North, the limit of the Inca Empire coincides with a district where the dry region of the Andes is replaced by a wet climate, and consequently a forest growth. The supplies of the Empire were mainly the crops grown in a dry climate. The central plateau had terraced fields. The parched lands west of the Central Cordillera were irrigated. The deposits of guano and other nitrates in the coastal deserts were used as fertilizers, and the species of birds which provided guano were strictly protected. Conditions of life throughout the long strip between the Eastern Cordillera and the Pacific were fairly uniform, making for unanimity, and the material benefits derived from the centralized control of agriculture were very great. Many details have been preserved of the system of administration. We know of the paved roads with posting stations at frequent intervals, the bridges and store-rooms, and the control and distribution of supplies. Both records and remains testify that population increased in the Andean plateau in a remarkable degree under this administration, and attained a density far greater than the present.

We are accustomed to think of Ecuador, Peru, and Chile as facing west, this being the orientation which these countries received under Spanish rule. They were then used mainly as mining districts, their produce being shipped from ports newly established on the Pacific to Panama, and thence transported across the Isthmus and shipped to Spain. Under the Incas there was no foreign trade by sea, and the coasting trade,

done in primitive vessels, must have been very small. The borderland of the Empire was the *Montaña*, the slope beyond the protective barrier of the Eastern Cordillera. It is impossible to say how much of this was effectively occupied by the Incas, and on account of this uncertainty the area of the Empire can only be stated between very wide limits. We shall, however, be fairly safe in saying that it was more than half a million but less than a million square miles. The area therefore was much less than that of the ancient Chinese Empire, the Achæmenian Empire of Persia, or the Roman Empire, each of which was something like two million square miles in extent. Since the Inca Empire was almost as long as theirs it follows that its outline was much less compact, and therefore strategically much less favourable. This however was compensated by the advantage of its relief, the mountain walls of the Andean plateau affording admirable protection. In the Old World one great plateau region, Tibet, combines such protection with a compact form, but the climate being terribly severe it is inhospitable and unfruitful, and consequently instead of becoming the seat of a great empire it has long been a buffer region between civilizations.

We have now to define the position of the Inca capital in relation to home production and communications and to the principal frontier. The basin of Lake Titicaca and the adjacent valley of Cuzco, the metropolitan parts of the Inca Empire, stand centrally in the long stretch of the Andean plateau adjacent to the position where the coast, which has maintained a northerly direction from *Tierra del Fuego*, suddenly bends to the north west. In the neighbourhood of this important feature in the structure of South America the chains of the Cordilleras open out and the intervening valleys are widest. Therefore, as I have said, the district comprising lake Titicaca and the Cuzco basin provides the largest protected valleys of the plateau and these are also in a central and intercepting position. Lake Titicaca is half-way between the wet districts of the Colombian and Chilean coasts. As the

Pacific was the terminal of communications, the Empire faced east, and it was therefore typical that the capital should be about half-way between the northern and southern terminals of the dry plateau but well advanced towards the east. It also happens that on the whole of the long eastern frontier beyond the crest of the Cordillera the most favoured district, and consequently that from which the Inca Empire was most threatened,¹ was near the foot of the mountains north-west of the upper Beni river, in the neighbourhood of the intersection of the parallel of 14° S., with the meridian of 68° W. As a protection against attack the Incas built forts at the heads of the river valleys, and in order to maintain their predominance in this region, then known as Antisuyu, constructed roads both from Cuzco and from near the southern end of Lake Titicaca. The slopes are more convenient from the southern end of the Lake, and it is from this end that the principal remains of Inca roads leading to the basin of the Rio Beni have been found, although some relics of a direct road from Cuzco have also been discovered near Ixiamas.² On the other hand the valleys north of the lake have a better rainfall and are more fertile. It is not unlikely that a drying up of the Titicaca district influenced the transfer of the capital to Cuzco.

From the vicinity of this capital the head-waters of rivers flowing to the Amazon cut deep valleys in the Eastern Cordilleras, giving access to wooded slopes very different in character both from the marshy bottoms of the Amazonian plain and from the dry Andean plateau. A comparison of the orographical with the rainfall map of South America shows the remarkable position of the great inflexion of the coast line. Here, where the Cordilleras are broadest, the eastern slope beyond their ridges is also broadest, and here is the division between the basins of the Amazon and the River Plate. The Montaña,

¹ See *Aborigines of South America*, by Colonel G. E. Church, chapter VI, p. 194 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 196, and the map in Sir Clements Markham's *Incas of Peru*.

which projects from the northern shoulder of the Andean bulge, is on the southern verge of the rainy belt which covers the equatorial half of the Tropics. Thus it catches the rain, and is consequently more heavily timbered than that to the south. In the part of the Montaña accessible from Cuzco, the Incas maintained military colonies recruited from the Andean plateau, who sent up to the home country supplies of coca, medicinal herbs, gums, resins, and wood for building and for weapons, receiving in return supplies of meat, potatoes, maize, clothing and salt.¹

The Continent east of the Inca's boundary has an area not less than six times as great as that of the Empire, with no great natural barriers all the way to the Atlantic. It was inhabited by people of the same branch of the human race as those comprised in the Inca dominions, it is well watered and in most parts naturally productive, and we ought therefore to enquire, first, how it was that the only great State in South America was that based on the Andean plateau, and secondly, why, as the eastern regions remained unsettled, their mobile tribes did not more effectually contest the dominion of the Incas within the agricultural lands after the manner of the pastoral peoples of Eurasia.

The answer to both questions is provided by one circumstance, the absence from South America, the most isolated of the four great continents, of the *Equidæ*, and of the *Bovidæ*, the family of hollow-horned ruminants which includes the oxen, sheep and goats. Even the guanacos, the representatives of the camel tribe, which provided the principal domestic animal of South America, the llama, were mainly confined to the Andean plateau and the narrower southern part of the Continent.

Thus the park-like savannahs of the tropical highlands east of the Andes were very sparsely inhabited, for there were no communities such as the tribes in corresponding parts of East Africa supported by great herds of cattle. The prairies,

¹ See *The Incas of Peru*, by Sir Clements R. Markham, p. 199.

or pampas, of the South Temperate belt comprised in the modern State of Argentina were equally empty. Owing to the absence of cattle, sheep and horses, there were no pastoral communities, and although much of the land is well suited for agriculture and now produces large crops of wheat it had no obstructive frontiers to shield the original home of an agricultural people who, unlike nomadic hunters and herdsmen, cannot retreat without losing everything. Hence the open country on the eastern slope of the temperate region in South America was very sparsely inhabited, and such people as there were had no power of rapid concentration, for they were unmounted. The corresponding countries in Asia were from early times the home of powerful tribes of mounted herdsmen who were the most formidable foes of the settled communities of the Old World and, either directly or through their pressure upon the forest tribes, overthrew, or contributed to the overthrow of, the governments of Rome, Persia and China. At the present time the region of the River Plate is said to contain more cattle and more sheep than any other country in the World of equal size, a large factor in the modern growth of its power and population. Before the arrival of the Europeans, and of their domestic animals, the temperate region of the Atlantic slope was probably less menacing to the Incas than the tropical part. It was certainly less profitable, for the Incas already had command of the agricultural produce of temperate climates, whereas the moist heat of the tropical Montaña provided many things which the Andean plateau did not produce.

When the Spaniards replaced the Incas as rulers of the Andean plateau they paid little attention to its agriculture, which speedily declined. They placed their principal colonial capital in Peru, but near the coast, for the Pacific was the way to Spain. The Andean mines were worked by native labour under practically slave conditions, and it was in other parts of the Continent that European settlers created national homes.

IMPERIAL CAPITALS IN JAPAN

Tōkyō is the only capital of to-day which resembles London as the metropolis of a dominant nation whose home is insular. London is situated in the largest island adjacent to the west coast of the Old World. Tōkyō is in the largest of the islands adjacent to the east coast of the Old World outside the humid equatorial belt. This island is the principal member of a group which had communication with Chinese civilization by way of the Korean Strait even when navigation was still primitive. Although the passage is nearly one hundred miles wide, intervening islands enable the crossing to be made without departing as much as fifty miles from land. The group of islands which we are accustomed to regard as constituting Japan comprises Kiushiu, Shikoku, Honshiu, and Yezo,¹ but this is not, according to Mr. Little,² the view of the Japanese, who consider that Japan proper, or Old Japan as they call it, consists of the large island Honshiu and the two smaller islands Kiushiu and Shikoku. This view is in accordance with the history of settlement, for the large northern island of Yezo, or Hokkaido, was not colonized by Japanese until comparatively recent times and only contains about three hundred thousand people, whereas Honshiu, Kiushiu and Shikoku have together a population of forty million.³ The distinction is particularly significant in view of the fact that the annual isotherm of 48.5° F. runs between Honshiu and Yezo, the climate of the latter being much colder than the lands included in the civilized empires of ancient times.

The area of Honshiu is eighty-seven thousand square miles, of Shikoku seven thousand, and Kiushiu seventeen thousand, so that the mainland is rather larger than Great Britain, but Shikoku and Kiushiu together are little more than two-thirds

¹ See for instance *International Geography, Japan*, by W. B. Mason, Vol. III, p. 545.

² *The Far East*, by A. Little, p. 282.

³ The figures are for 1891, the annual increase is about one per cent. (*Longmans' Gazetteer*, 1906, edited by G. G. Chisholm).

the size of Ireland. The channel between Kiushiu and the main island is only three thousand yards in width, and although Shikoku is rather more distant there are intervening islands, so that the passages do not exceed three thousand yards in breadth. Owing to its land-locked character the Inland Sea, which extends for two hundred and fifty miles between the Japanese mainland and the two smaller islands, is completely sheltered from ocean waves, and provides an avenue of communication between localities on the mainland as well as sheltered navigation from the neighbouring islands. The present Japanese Empire originated with invaders of Kiushiu, but whereas the Teutonic invaders of the British Isles found all the accommodation which they required in the nearest island, Great Britain, the Japanese invaders of Kiushiu on the contrary pressed on to the larger island, without however forsaking their first conquest. Thus although the preponderant size of Honshiu secured for it the seat of the capital, Kiushiu, where the Satsuma clan resides, has remained throughout the ages intensely Japanese. Consequently with Kiushiu and Shikoku nationally Japanese and Yezo (or Hokkaido) almost unpeopled, none of these islands stand politically to the mainland as Ireland to Great Britain.

Setting out from the province of Hyuga in Kiushiu (about 660 B.C. according to traditional chronology) the conqueror Jimmu Tenno, navigating the Inland Sea, occupied the large promontory which lies between the bays of Osaka and Ise. Lake Biwa being not far inland from the base of the promontory converts it into a true peninsula, called from the name of its southern province the Kii peninsula. The western and eastern limits of this remarkable region are nearly marked by the modern towns of Osaka and Nagoya, ninety miles apart. The distance from the southern extremity of Lake Biwa to Cape Shiomisaki at the extremity of the peninsula is about one hundred miles. Near the southern point of Lake Biwa now stands the city of Kyōto. The size of the Kii peninsula is about equal to that of the island of Shikoku, some seven

thousand square miles, not quite as large as Wales, and its two land frontiers, between Lake Biwa and the sea, are each less than forty miles in length. On its east coast is situated Ise, the national shrine of Japan founded in remote antiquity, possibly before the beginning of the Christian Era. After the decisive victory of Tsushima in 1905,¹ the Japanese fleet anchored in the bay, and solemn thanksgiving was rendered at the shrine. Later, the Emperor journeyed from Tōkyō for private communion with his departed ancestors in the innermost shrine, the Shoden or "real abode."

The Chinese annals during the first three centuries of our era describe the province of Yamato, which adjoins that of Ise, in the Kii peninsula, as the seat of the Japanese sovereign who ruled over southern, central, and part of northern Honshiu, as well as in Kiushiu and Shikoku. At the end of the fifth century Osaka, situated in the Kii peninsula but not in the province of Yamato, became the capital during one reign. Other temporary capitals were Kashiwara, Otsu and Fujiwara.² Nara, between Osaka and Ise, was the first city in which the Imperial residence remained for more than one reign, from 709 to 784 A.D. By this time there was intimate intercourse with Korea and China, their arts had been communicated, and the Confucian and Buddhist doctrines received. In 793 A.D. Kyōto was chosen as capital. It remained the sole capital for several hundred years and the imperial residence until 1868 A.D. The positions of the national shrine, successive royal residences, and an enduring capital, lead us to examine the strategic character of the Kii peninsula in which they are situated. This includes, in addition to the promontory, the country between Lake Biwa and the head of the Osaka and Ise bays. Its good maritime communication with the west and the shortness of its land frontiers have already been pointed out. Much of the district is extremely

¹ Officially called the battle of the Sea of Japan; there was an earlier battle known as that of Tsushima.

² *Japan*, by F. Brinkley, Vol. I, p. 132.

fertile, and the cultivation of rice and other crops has long supported a large population. Therefore it provided from the outset a productive and defensible base, with good communication to Shikoku, Kiushiu, and one-third of Honshiu which lies to the west. The full scope of its strategic advantages however is only realized when we note the effect of Lake Biwa and the hills north of it in deflecting and restricting the lengthwise communications of Honshiu. North of lake Biwa a deep indentation of the coast, Wakasa bay, narrows the island, and leaves about fifteen miles between sea and lake. This being part of a hilly tract provides no good route from east to west, so that traffic has to go round the south end of lake Biwa. Osaka Bay and Ise Bay are each about forty miles from the Lake, but whereas hills intervene between the Lake and Ise Bay, a valley runs from the southern extremity of the Lake to the head of Osaka Bay. From the southern end of Lake Biwa a convenient lowland route skirts its east shore leading to the north coast. Consequently the isthmus between Lake Biwa and Osaka Bay, not that between the lake and Ise Bay, is the position for a strategic barrier dominating roads and harbours. Of the maritime communications from eastern Honshiu to Shikoku, Kiushiu and western Honshiu by far the best are those by the south, and these are flanked by the Kii peninsula. Taking all these considerations into account it is not difficult to understand that the Kii peninsula became the base from which was built up a monarchy which included Kiushiu, Shikoku, and most of Honshiu. This monarchy was of the feudal type, which is favoured by the relief and soil of a mountainous country with relatively small lowlands of great fertility. The populous communities of the latter districts are separated not merely by transit difficulties but by the peculiar and remarkable barrenness of the highlands, for the schist rock containing much quartz with which a large part of the highlands is capped, yields on weathering a layer of pebbles and quartz sand which supports neither fine forest nor good pasture.

The resistance of the aborigines north of the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude continued until the eleventh century. Thus it came about, as history records, that the feudatories of central and northern Honshiu were able to provide tempting grants of land, so that their revenues increased relatively to those of the Crown, and their retainers relatively to those of the nobility of South Honshiu, Shikoku, and Kiushiu. Partly, I presume, from this cause, partly no doubt from the later agricultural development further north, a military and administrative capital was established in the twelfth century by the greatest of the feudatories at Kamakura, three hundred miles east of Kyōto, and a little to the west of the large, fertile, plain on which modern Tōkyō is situated. The imperial residence remained at Kyōto but the real seat of power was Kamakura. Here resided the Shōgun, "the barbarian-subduing Generalissimo," or Lord Warden of the Marches. Later on, this military potentate resided for a short time at Kyōto, when successful operations were conducted against the Satsuma men of Kiushiu and the Choshu men of Nagato, but by 1615 A.D. the capital of the Shōgun was fixed at Yedo, since renamed Tōkyō. In 1868, when the Emperors were restored to power, the imperial residence was also transferred to this city. It was then that the name Tōkyō, eastern capital, was bestowed on the city, but in fact all the functions of national and imperial government are now carried on there. We have therefore to examine its situation in relation to Japan as a whole and to Kyōto in particular.

The plain in which it stands is much the largest of the fertile lowlands in which the population of Japan is principally concentrated. The cities of Tōkyō and Yokohama (its port) have a combined population of two and a half million. In the Kii peninsula the four cities of Osaka, Kyōto, Kobe, and Nagoya have together an equal population. Between the Kii peninsula and Tōkyō plain intervenes the largest block of highland in Japan. It can be conveniently entered from Kyōto by a northern coast route and by a cen-

tral valley, but neither of these ways traverses a region containing anything like the resources of the Tōkyō plain, neither do they lead to any notable radiant point of routes to the north of the island. The Tōkyō plain, on the contrary, is the gathering ground of the routes through the mountains from all the fertile plains of the north. The connection between Kyōto and Tōkyō is the southern shore route, traversed by that ancient and celebrated road the Tokaido, and now also by a railway. The Tōkyō plain at one end of this main avenue, and the isthmus between Lake Biwa and Osaka bay at the other, are the two foci of communication which are essential to the strategic control of the three islands of Old Japan. The latter position was guarded by the great castles of Osaka and Fushimi, near Kyōto. The control of communications here exercised is witnessed by the fact that the provinces to the west were called Kwansei, or "west of the barrier" and those to the east Kwanto or "east of the barrier." Ieyasu, the great Shōgun who made Tōkyō his capital, called the castles of Osaka and Fushimi the keys of the country. The fact that he made Tōkyō the capital shows, however, that he regarded it as the other key position.

We have now to investigate the suitability of Honshiu for the metropolitan district of a maritime empire comprising continental and insular territories with foreign populations.

The great chain of islands extending from Sakhalin to New Zealand situated in the western Pacific, and between it and the Indian Ocean, is unique in the World. If the climate of the East Indies had favoured the development of civilization they might well have become the national base of a maritime empire embracing the whole chain of islands, for they are not very remote from the centres of early civilization. Situated as they are in the humid equatorial belt, where man has so hard a struggle with noxious bacteria and protozoal parasites, they mostly remained backward. Consequently Australia

and New Zealand, lying beyond them, were not in the path of early civilization. In the warmer half of the north Temperate Zone, Honshiu, the mainland of Japan, is much the largest of the chain of islands and, as already pointed out, has easy communication with Korea, and therefore was early brought into touch with Chinese civilization. Political strength was thereby gained, and the geographical conditions which contributed to make the islands of Old Japan the base of an imperial power may therefore be stated to be their size, climate, and proximity to Chinese civilization. The conditions favoured the development of local seafaring, but, as already pointed out, the Far East was not so well fitted as Europe for the introduction of distant voyages. It is in accordance with these conditions that the East Indies and Australasia were not exploited by the Japanese but by Europeans. Had the Japanese occupied the East Indies before the arrival of Occidentals they would probably have derived far greater benefit from their possession, for they withstand the humid equatorial climate much better than Europeans. This is undoubtedly due in part to the hot, moist, summers to which the Japanese are accustomed, and perhaps also in part to the geographical origins of the race. Early in the seventeenth century the Shōgun Ieyasu forbade the further construction of ocean-going ships. This measure was apparently dictated by the desire to exclude foreign ideas, particularly Christian tenets, which were thought to threaten the unity which the Japanese people had so recently achieved. The policy was not reversed until the middle of the nineteenth century when an American squadron under Commodore Perry compelled the Japanese to open up commercial relations. No sooner did the people embark on a ship-building policy than seafaring aptitude, maintained by the fisheries, manifested itself in a striking manner. The successful wars with China and Russia have extended the Japanese possessions so that they have positions of great strategic control over the oceanic approach to the Pacific ports of Siberia and the ports of

northern and central China, whilst the possession of both sides of the Korean Strait facilitates control of coastwise communication between Siberian and Chinese ports. The Strait of Formosa on the line of the northern tropic marks the limit between the portion of the island screen of Asia now controlled from Japan and that which is in the occupation of Occidental powers.

The proportion of fertile soil in Japan is less than in the British Islands but this is offset by a more forcing climate. In coal-fields and metalliferous deposits, however, Japan is markedly inferior to Great Britain.

The proximity of China with a dense population and great mineral resources is, potentially, for Japan a commercial equivalent of the proximity of continental Europe to Great Britain. But when we look further afield we are confronted with the commercial inferiority of a position on the Pacific as compared with that on the Atlantic ocean. The former presents a profitless expanse of water twice as great as that of the Atlantic. The lands accessible at low altitudes and by gentle gradients from Atlantic coasts are three times as great as from the coasts of the Pacific, for they include the drainage basin of the Arctic ocean as well as that of the Atlantic itself. These circumstances place Tōkyō at a disadvantage for maritime commerce when compared with London or New York, and the British and American occupation of the isthmus of Suez and of Panama gives these Powers a great naval advantage.

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APPENDIX

Note 1. See page 1.

The names of countries in the headings of chapters denote all that is included within the political frontiers of 1914. The advantage of definite boundaries balances the drawback of using names whose national significance is in some cases more recent than the times to which most of the narrative refers.

Note 2. See page 72.

ROME AS CAPITAL OF RE-UNITED ITALY

In the present Italian kingdom Rome does not stand in the typical position of the sovereign capital of a homogeneous State or of the imperial capital of a dominant nation. From the seventh to the nineteenth century the Italian peninsula was divided among many States, but one language prevailed generally throughout the country. Before 1860 consolidation had begun under the head of the House of Savoy, whose principal title was King of Sardinia. The Papal States, however, still stretched across the breadth of Italy from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the Adriatic. In 1860 Umbria and the Marches were detached from the territorial or "temporal" rule of Rome, and continuity of territory was established between the dominions of the House of Savoy in the north and south of the peninsula, although the added territory did not comprise the best line of communication. This important stage in the modern unification of the Italian-speaking people was signalized by changing the style "Kingdom of Sardinia" for that of "Kingdom of Italy." In 1865 the capital was moved from Turin to Florence. The Roman Campagna and the country on either side for a total distance of about one hundred and twenty miles along the coast, the ancient Patrimony of St. Peter, remained however independent of the kingdom, the territorial sovereignty of the Pope being secured by a French garrison. When this support was withdrawn in 1870 the reunion of the Italians was completed by the addition of the connecting district, which was the original radiant point of those

influences which had given the peninsula a single language. Rome was then made the capital of United Italy in succession to Florence, the successor of Turin.

Thus as its latest institution as a Capital the status of Rome resembled that immediately preceding the Punic Wars, being the headquarters of a new union of States.

Note 3. See page 125.

THE CAPITAL REGION OF FRANCE

The capital region of France comprises more than the original Royal Domain of the Capets. This included Paris and Orleans, but not their maritime outlets; and not the whole of the fertile Tertiary plain of the Paris basin. The territorial nucleus of France is, I submit, the region comprised in the Kingdom of Syagrius, the last independent State of Roman provincialism in Gaul. In this conclusion geography is supported by history, for the status of the Capets in the tenth century had to do with Frankish institutions, whereas the essential character of the French nation is Gallic not Frankish, and historically, therefore, we must go back to Gallic times. By focusing our attention on the Kingdom of Syagrius, however, we shall avoid the pitfall of those who regard the Roman province of Gaul as the origin of France. Fortunately the frontiers of Syagrius have been preserved by unchanged boundaries transmitted from ancient through mediæval to present times. Their elucidation requires nothing but attention to the changes of name undergone by the divisions which they comprise. On the south and east the boundary conformed to that of the present Departments formed in the Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. These are simply the old bishoprics under new names, evidently so devised as not to smack of ecclesiasticism, a system which had become closely associated with mediæval monarchy. Had the names of the bishoprics been still associated with their classical origin they would have been more welcome to the revolutionaries, who preferred the Romano-Gallic to the mediæval Frankish tradition of their country. After the establishment of the Church by Constantine the Great its territorial constitution had been rapidly perfected throughout the Empire, bishoprics being established in the principal cities, archbishoprics and bishoprics being territorially identical with the Civil divisions. The very name diocese, now a term of ecclesiastical geography, is borrowed from Roman political geography. A careful examination of the classical atlas can I think scarcely fail to impress the student of to-day with

the remarkable grasp of the problems of political and strategic geography displayed by Roman statesmen. It is, I presume, partly on this account that their provincial boundaries are enduring, although something must also be allowed for the advantage which they enjoyed in dealing with larger areas than their mediæval and modern successors in western Europe. The Kingdom of Syagrius consisted of the provinces of *Lugdunensis Secunda*, *Lugdunensis Tertia*, except the promontory of Brittany, *Lugdunensis Quarta*, and the southern half of *Belgica Secunda*, the northern half as far as the Somme having been occupied by the heathen Salians. *Lugdunensis Secunda* is the archbishopric of Rouen, *Lugdunensis Tertia* the archbishopric of Tours, *Lugdunensis Quarta* the archbishopric of Sens, except that the latter comprises also a small part of *Lugdunensis Prima* in the bishopric of Nevers. Thus the frontier districts of the kingdom in *Lugdunensis Tertia* and *Quarta* were the following dioceses, of which I give the modern departmental names in brackets: Nantes (Loire-inférieure), Angers (Maine-et-Loire), Tours (Indre-et-Loire), the southern part of Chartres (Loire-et-Cher), Orleans (Loiret), Auxerre (Yonne), Troyes (Aube).

Belgica Secunda was in ecclesiastical geography the archbishopric of Reims, as that ecclesiastical province was constituted up to the fourteenth century. The frontier of Syagrius followed its eastern boundary in the dioceses of Châlons and Reims (Marne and Ardennes) but the north-eastern half of the archbishopric was divided with the heathen Salians. The boundary cut across the bishopric of Amiens and perhaps across those of Noyon and Laon, traversing therefore the Departments of Somme and Aisne.

Note 4. See page 159.

BERLIN

The present suitability of Berlin as site for the capital of Germany is chiefly due to the fact that the community in whose district it is situated is still the most numerous in Germany. Doubtless many of the thirty-seven million of the present *Freistaat Preussen* in Hanover and elsewhere are not Prussian in sentiment, but there is around Berlin and in East Germany a solid block of people Prussian in sentiment as well as politically who far outnumber the population of any other German State.

Note 5. See page 191.

THE CAPITAL REGION OF MOSCOW

The political division most nearly corresponding with the physical region known as the Mezhdurechié is the "Government of Moscow" in the time of Peter the Great (1740), which includes the present districts of Vladimir, Ryazan, Tula, Kaluga, Moscow, and Jaroslav, with part of Kostroma.

Note 6, see page 209.

THE CAPITAL REGION OF SPAIN

The district of Bardulia, which came to be called Castile and later Old Castile, was part of the Kingdom of Leon in 910. Its Counts, however, soon ruled independently, and Fernando I (1027-65), on acquiring the kingdom of Leon, took the title King of Castile and Leon. These were reckoned as distinct kingdoms under one Crown, and each was left as a kingdom for one son. It was after Alphonso VI, the second son, obtained rule of both that he captured Toledo 1085, then capital of a Moorish kingdom, and the surrounding country. In this feat he had the assistance of Rodrigo Diaz (*el Cid*), the popular type of Castilian chivalry. In 1087 Alphonso advanced his capital from Burgos to Toledo, and it is significant that when the district of Toledo was added to the dominions of the King of Castile and Leon it was called New Castile and reckoned as an accession to the kingdom of Castile only. Thus the external frontier of the adjacent provinces of Old and New Castile is an historical delimitation of the Capital Region of Spain.

We have seen that Burgos was the dominating position in the recovery of Spain. Toledo was no doubt an important political objective. It stood for the tradition and ideal of a united Christian Spain. It appears to have been the ecclesiastical headquarters of Roman Spain in the somewhat brief interval between the civil establishment of Christianity under Constantine and the irruption of the Vandals, Suevi, and Alans. It was here that a Visigothic king exchanged Arianism for Catholicism in 589, and the city was reckoned the capital of the Visigothic kingdom during the period when some kind of rule was maintained throughout most of the Peninsula. In 681 the archbishop became primate of Spain, and is now known as "primate of all the Spains." Therefore we can see that the district of Toledo was the focus of affairs in the Peninsula at the transition from ancient to modern history.

Note 7. See page 210.

EUROPEAN CONNECTIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES

The following physical facts clearly indicate South Britain as the predestined capital district if Great Britain were united, and if Ireland should be joined to United Great Britain.

Great Britain, the larger island with the greater extent of good farm land and the larger store of economic minerals, is also the nearer to continental Europe, and therefore typically conditioned for the Capital island. If now we look at the spread of the land north and south of the line joining Hartlepool and Whitehaven, which is half-way between the north and south coast of the island, we shall see that the southern section is the broader and has not only a larger area of fertile land but a larger proportion. It has also as great, or greater, coal fields. It is therefore the greater storehouse of wealth. Being also nearer to the Continent than the northern half, it is typically conditioned for the capital region of the whole island. Of its two great eastern estuaries that of the Thames is nearer to the Continent ; and the continental lands near to it were developed before those which face the Humber. Had the settlement of Great Britain been deferred until the Mechanical Age, the Humber, being closer to the coal fields, would have been more nearly equal with the Thames as a focus of national life.

It should also be noticed in connection with the position of an insular capital that the home trade of an island is conducted by coasting vessels to a much larger extent than is the case with continental countries, so that in spite of the marginal position of a port it is a good junction of domestic communications.

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